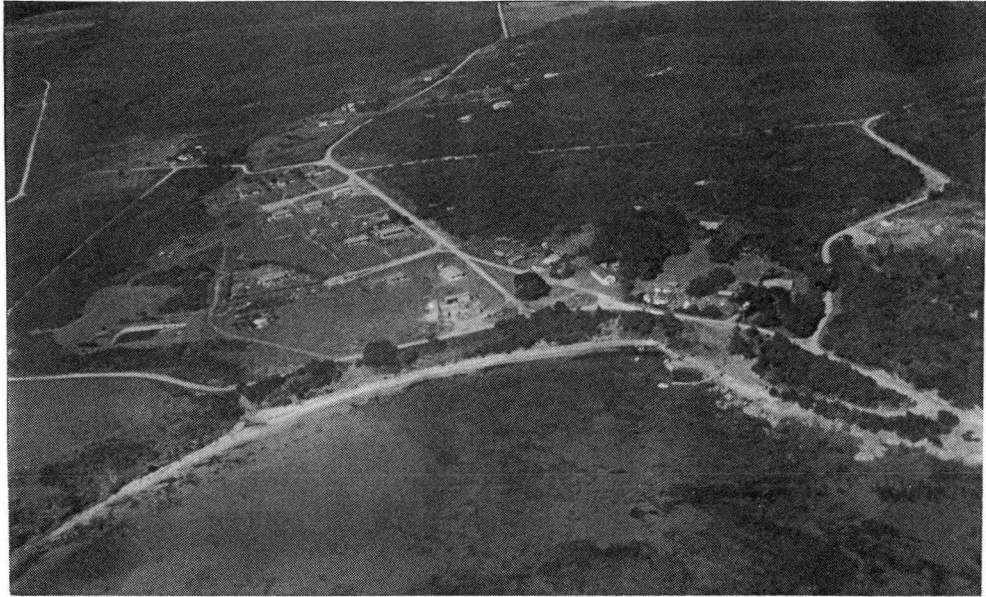


A Contemporary Aboriginal Community
A Study of Community Housing Needs for the Contemporary
Aboriginal People of Cape Barren Island.



by

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BArch (Honours), BAEnvDes

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Architecture

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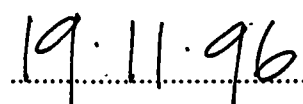
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Abstract

This study involved an investigation of the Aboriginal community - the small township on Cape Barren Island living at The Corner. Cape Barren Island is located off the northeast corner of Tasmania in Bass Strait. The aim was to determine whether the Government housing provided for them is appropriate in facilitating their lifestyle. The study also examined traditional Aboriginal customs and compared these with the contemporary Aboriginal community lifestyle to determine if any traditional domiciliary cultural practices exist today. Consideration was given to whether these continued practices influenced the way in which dwellings were used by the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island.

The study involved different methods for the collection of data. Literature sources such as the observations of European settlers and explorers provided information on the domiciliary behaviour of Tasmanian Aborigines during the early years of colonisation of Tasmania. Primary sources were a significant part of the study, and included architectural records, the author's behavioural and architectural observations, participation in communal activities, informal interviews with residents and the use of questionnaires. A body of data was used to carry out a post-occupancy evaluation of the government dwellings.

The general results indicated that with a few exceptions, most traditional cultural practices no longer play a part in the lifestyles of the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. But those remaining elements of traditional culture which are still maintained today, do have an effect upon the domiciliary behaviour of these people and the way dwellings are used.

The major conclusions drawn from the study indicate:-

- (i) The development of community housing on Cape Barren Island has stemmed from conventional ideas of Australian suburban planning and does not include any inherent characteristics of the natural environment or cultural behaviour and practices of the Aboriginal people.
- (ii) The design and construction of government dwellings on the island were responsible for much of the dissatisfaction expressed by the Aboriginal residents with their houses. Incorrect orientation of dwellings, inappropriate choice of building materials and poor workmanship contributed to the partial failure of many government dwellings.
- (iii) The design of government dwellings needs to incorporate an open plan arrangement of general living areas to enable domiciliary activities, which are an integral part of contemporary Aboriginal Islander life, to comfortably take place within them.
- (iv) Design modifications could easily rectify many of the problems associated with existing dwellings experienced by the contemporary Aboriginal residents of Cape Barren Island.

The thesis concludes with a list of design and planning recommendations for the future design and planning of Aboriginal housing on Cape Barren Island.

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Introduction

This aim of this thesis is to determine whether the existing government-provided dwellings on Cape Barren Island are appropriate for the contemporary Aboriginal community.

No study of the contemporary lifestyles of the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island and the Government-provided housing for these people has been previously undertaken to determine the suitability of such dwellings for their habitation.

There currently exists no written information of the contemporary lifestyles of the Aboriginal people of the island. The extent to which traditional customs as practised by these people have not been investigated and recorded. It has not been examined if such practices influence the way in which dwellings are used, thus determining the appropriateness of such dwellings for the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island.

The scope of the investigation includes:

- A history of Aboriginal settlement on Cape Barren Island. It examines Tasmanian Aboriginal traditions and the influences of European settlement on the indigenous population. It describes the settlement patterns of the Tasmanian Aboriginal community around the Furneaux group of islands and Cape Barren Island.
- A current settlement description. This includes a geographical description of the island and township, the location of existing services and facilities and the description of past and present industry on the island.

- Social behaviour of the contemporary Aboriginal community as observed by the author, compared with the traditional behaviour of these people from the observations of European settlers.
- An examination of contemporary Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour.
- A post-occupancy evaluation of dwellings inhabited by the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island, recording the existing location, type, construction and condition of dwellings.
- Research findings and recommendations.

This research aims to establish whether the type of housing provided by the government is suitable for the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. It will also conclude whether any improvements or modifications are necessary to accommodate the living requirements of the contemporary Aboriginal people of the island.

In conducting the study of the housing situation of government dwellings on Cape Barren Island, research of a number of primary sources was important to establish information that had not been previously recorded and so form the main data base for this study.

Informal interviews, questionnaires and participant observation by the author were techniques used to gain data concerning the lifestyles of the Aboriginal people and the role of the dwelling in their daily life. The questionnaires used as part of the collection of data consisted of 'check list and inventory' and 'ratings' type. The former was chosen to provide specific information on a particular subject - the dwelling (Rubin & Babbie 1993:57). The latter was used to gain data concerning the subjects' judgment of their satisfaction with the dwelling they occupied expressed in a numerical value (Patton 1990:16). Informal conversational interviews were used to understand the individual histories of some of the Aboriginal people on the island with no predetermined question topics. ¹ The second type of interview conducted was a guided interview. The people were asked specific questions and the sequence and wording of the questions were determined in advance.

The location and types of dwellings were recorded to identify existing housing on the island. The design and construction of dwellings were examined to determine their thermal efficiency and structural integrity. This involved measuring and documenting a cross-section of the government-provided dwellings and owner-built houses inhabited by the Aboriginal community. A visual post-occupancy inspection of dwellings was recorded to determine site features and the interior and exterior condition of the dwellings.

The locations and condition of existing services were recorded also. This involved an examination of services such as electricity, water, waste management and telephones. Facilities such as the general store, post office, school, medical, police and fire service were examined to determine if they functioned appropriately for the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island.

An examination of social behaviour involved observing movement patterns, communication and social behaviour within the Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. These were recorded at specific times over a period of one month during March 1995 and June 1996 respectively. Interviews of the Aboriginal residents also contributed to the collection of data concerning communication and social behaviour. ² The domiciliary behaviour of the Aboriginal households on Cape Barren Island was observed also. This involved recording the role of the dwellings and the daily activities of the residents such as preparing and cooking meals, eating and sleeping. This was done to determine how dwellings occupied by the Aboriginal people were used and to distinguish any differences between them and non-Aboriginal people in Australian communities in general.

Secondary and tertiary sources also contribute to the study. This is particularly so for the history of the region and the island in order to provide the context in which the study took place. These sources were used to examine the traditional lifestyle of Tasmanian Aborigines and review the degree of European influence upon Tasmanian Aborigines since colonisation, with particular emphasis on the Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. The history of Tasmanian Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour was researched using literature sources of the early life of Tasmanian Aborigines, based upon the European settlers' observations. This was done to compare traditional lifestyles with the present contemporary Aboriginal community on the island, identify any similarities and how they influence domestic behaviour and the use of dwellings.

An examination of meteorological records was conducted to investigate the climatic conditions found on the island to determine the extremes in seasonal temperatures to which the dwellings were exposed. Geological data of surveys of the island were used to determine soil type and mineral deposits found on the island and determine stability of the site on which dwellings were constructed. The location and type of vegetation on the island was researched to determine if the lack of natural vegetation had an impact on the effect of inland sea breezes experienced by the Aboriginal settlement.

A review of existing literature and documentation of public works carried out on the island, and by whom, was investigated to identify the Government Department/s responsible. This included the planning of the settlement, the construction of dwellings and the provision of services on the island.

The collection of original information was an important part of this study. This data were not available in literature sources and had to be collected by the author. For example, plans and construction details of dwellings were unavailable. This was, in part, due to a fire which destroyed a small Council building on Cape Barren Island in which most records pertaining to the design and construction of dwellings were destroyed. The absence of any documentation held by either the Burnie or Launceston City Councils, who were at different times responsible for the public works conducted on the island, meant that measured drawings of the types of dwellings on the island had to be recorded.

The research findings presented in this body of work are the result of study conducted between the period of 18 March 1995 to 8 April 1995. Because of the limited time available during my initial visit a second journey to the island was carried out between 20 June 1996 to 28 June 1996. The purpose of the second visit was to document any changes that may have occurred on the island after the initial visit and collect supplementary data.

The validity and reliability of the research results are based on facts and evidence and not the author's assumptions. The extent to which the research results are accurate is based upon the clarity of the various measurement tools (Wolf 1986:31). The nominal group techniques such as informal conversation, and guided, closed, and fixed response interviews have their strengths and weaknesses. The informal conversational interviews can increase the salience and relevance of the questions (Rubin & Babbie 1993:59).

This allows the interviewer to respond flexibly to questions as they develop. However, certain questions that arise from one conversational interview may not necessarily arise in another and therefore cross-referencing and comparison of data can be difficult (Rubin & Babbie 1993:60).

Guided interviews increase the comprehensiveness of the data and the data collection is reasonably consistent for each person. Too much interviewer flexibility may reduce the comparability of responses between the people interviewed. Closed, fixed-response interviews determined in advance the questions and response categories allowing the person interviewed to choose from fixed response questions. Data collected in this way can be easily compared and aggregated (Rubin & Babbie 1993:63). In addition, many questions can be asked in a short space of time. The person interviewed, however, must fit their responses into the interviewer's categories which may not fully express their feelings. The choice of different styles of questionnaires ensured that data collected was not limited in its scope and otherwise useful information omitted.

References

- 1 During my visit, I spoke to a cross section of the Islander community. I was invited to many visits, dinners, 'roo' (kangaroo) shooting, fishing and 'birding' (mutton birding). It was through participation in these activities that I learned much of the island's history and local people's personal histories. I appreciated their great sense of family and community, and their love and respect for their island home, and their willingness to maintain these.
- 2 Initially, while surveying the island, I had the false impression that many, if not most of the island community, were away. Those few residents I saw in the first days were very suspicious of my presence but were always friendly. When conversation did occur, usually in passing, it was always initiated by the islanders and consisted mostly of questions regarding who I was and what I was doing on the island.

For the next few days I walked over much of the township, making myself as visible as possible to the residents who peered curiously at me through their windows. I had put away my camera, note book and tape recorder as I found these made the islanders feel uncomfortable and reluctant to talk to me when they had approached.

A day later while walking to the southern part of the island, I was stopped by a passing car full of people whom I had not seen previously and invited to a 'get together' with the locals. That evening I arrived with my guitar - my travelling companion - at the house of one of the islanders where many of the community's Aboriginal residents were.

There was a large fire burning and adults and children were enjoying themselves on what was a balmy and unusually still night for that time of the year. As I approached the gathering, I was hailed by one of the residents I had met two days before. He explained to me that word of who I was and my purpose on the island had spread through the entire community and that it was of interest to the residents who were eager to see me. He also commented on my guitar and said that if I could entertain the people I would have few problems in speaking to them later. As the evening progressed I was asked to play. I played and sang country and western tunes for much of the evening at their request, with enthusiastic accompaniment from others around the fire. During breaks I was slowly approached by the residents and found myself being studied and asked many questions, for example, how long I had played guitar, to my work and reason for being on the Island.

My ability to play music and play those songs the people enjoyed, proved to be a crucial factor in clearing the barrier of silence and reluctance of the locals towards me all that week.

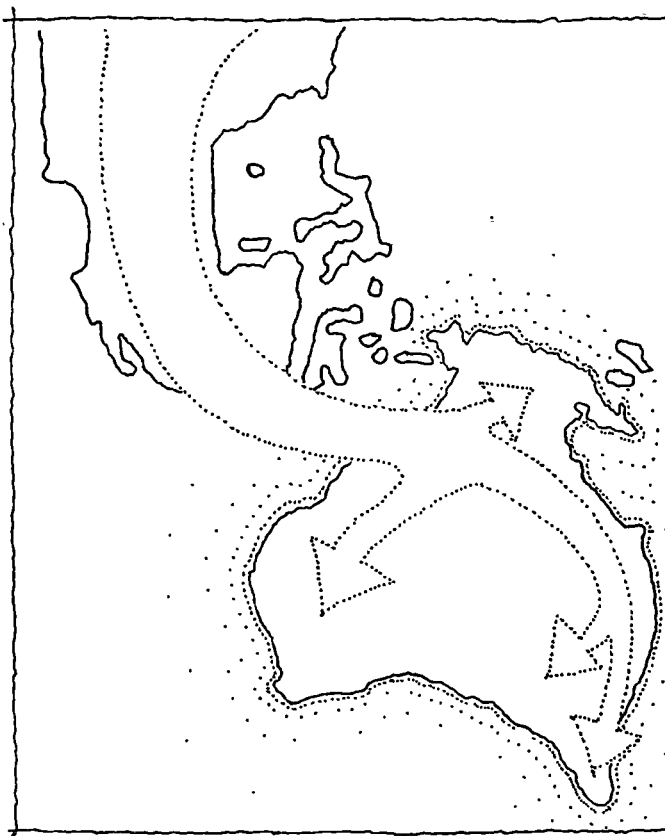
At the end of the evening I had been interviewed personally by many people and to my surprise invited to their houses to speak more about the purpose of my visit, the possible benefits of my work to their community and of course play and sing some more. During my visit to people's homes I found most of them to be extremely house proud and friendly but uneasy about my camera and small voice recorder, preferring private conversation only. Note taking was sometimes difficult as this was considered rude by many people. So, after each visit it was necessary to commit important points of our conversation to paper. I found the key to obtaining information was to be relaxed and unhurried. Time is a commodity (on Cape Barren) that the islanders have plenty of. Impatience, or being pressed for time, is a concept sometimes unfamiliar to them. Furthermore, it is considered to be impolite to hurry things along.

Chapter 2

Cape Barren Island - A Historical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of Tasmanian Aboriginal settlement on Cape Barren Island. It examines European influence upon the indigenous population and the settlement patterns of the Aboriginal Tasmanians on Cape Barren Island. This provides the reader with a history of the region and establishes the context for the study.

Aboriginal people have been living in Australia for approximately 40,000 years. These people probably migrated from China through Java and settled in fertile areas around the continent (Jones 1974:26). During this period Indonesia (as we know it today) was geographically



part of the Australian continent. Aboriginal people arrived in the Tasmanian area over 18,000 years ago after migrating south, when the area was still part of the larger continent (Clark 1983:08). Nearly 12,000 years ago, Tasmania and its Aboriginal population became isolated by the rising seas which caused the flooding of the Bass Plain creating Bass Strait (Robson 1987:02).

Map 1. Aboriginal migration into Australia about 40,000 years ago.
(source: Clark 1983:08)

In 1772, Nicholas Marion du Fresne was the first white man to see Tasmanian Aborigines, thus ending 12,000 years of isolation for the indigenous Tasmanians (Clark 1983:12).

2.1 European Settlement and the 'Black War'

Tasmania was settled by Europeans in 1803 and within three years of colonisation, war led to the massacre of thousands of Aboriginal people (Mollison & Everitt 1978:272).

Aboriginal people in the early period of colonisation allowed European access to their resources in return for European goods. When their expectation of goods turned into a dependence on such things as tea, sugar, blankets and food because of European hunting of their traditional foods, tensions arose (Clark 1983:40).

Local Aborigines moved among the settlers without any fear. It was common-place for Aboriginal women to have sexual relationships with white men in return for sugar, tea, tobacco and bread. Tea with sugar was considered a great luxury among the Aboriginal people and their demand for it was very regular (Morgan 1992:18). By the end of the 1820s many of the Tasmanian Aborigines had learnt to speak 'Colonial English' with some degree of fluency and often wore some items of European clothing. It was a commonly held view of many of the Europeans that the Tasmanian Aborigines were a peaceful people. However, Europeans also saw the Aboriginal people as beggars, thieves and lazy. The Aborigines did not cultivate the land or utilise it in any way similar to Europeans. Because of this Europeans believed the indigenous Tasmanians had no claim to it (Reynolds 1995:45). During the 1820s, the number of colonists arriving in Van Diemen's Land increased, bringing with them large numbers of sheep for grazing. As the land was rapidly being taken up by European farmers, traditional Aboriginal land owners were being driven from their lands (Morgan 1992:21).

Abundant convict labour allowed the settlers to rapidly build stone houses and farm buildings (Reynolds 1995:35). Settlement was intensive in the valleys and farms were held under freehold tenure from the beginning of European settlement. Miles of fences were laid out, extensive hedgerows were planted and acres of land previously covered with natural vegetation were cleared, burnt and ploughed (Reynolds 1995:36).

In 1828, martial law was established when the 'Black War' was declared by the Europeans after twenty years of contact with the Tasmanian Aborigines (Clark 1992:9). Before it started, however, there were sporadic and often individual acts of violence between the Aborigines and Europeans (Reynolds 1995:40). The sudden decline of 'full blood' Tasmanian Aborigines was the result of war between the colonists and Aborigines. At the end of the war there were 210 'full blood' Aborigines left in Tasmania from an estimated 4,000 - 5,000 at the beginning of European settlement (Clark 1987:52). Other estimates place the number of indigenous Tasmanians at 7,000 before the conflict (Robson 1987:02).

In 1835 there were 180 full-blood Aboriginal people on the island of Tasmania. By 1843, there were only forty three remaining (Mollison & Everitt 1976:115). Aboriginal women were abducted and raped, children were used as forced labour while most men were either arrested and settled in camps or shot on sight. One Aborigine recalled that:

'We were camped close to Partridge Island (on Bruni [sic] Island) when a vessel came without our knowing it, a boat came ashore and attacked our camp. We all ran away but my mother was caught...and stabbed. My sister was taken by a sealing boat. Two young men from my tribe came for me and said they and two white men would take us to Bruni. On the way over there they killed the two Aboriginal men' (Mollison & Everitt 1976:36).

During this period Aborigines killed approximately 200 white settlers with spears and set many houses ablaze. They also killed many sheep and set alight to farmer's crops. The Aboriginal campaign during the war proved to be a constant source of embarrassment and bewilderment to the Europeans (Reynolds 1995:41). Despite their small numbers and simple technology, many factors contributed to their success in combating the large numbers of armed Europeans (Reynolds 1992:63).

Their bush craft, knowledge of the terrain and their great mobility were key elements in their resistance. The Aborigines had a profound understanding of their homelands and the flora and fauna. They knew exactly where to find water and had the ability to navigate across the country with complete confidence. Guns greatly intimidated Aboriginal people during the early years of settlement. They were mystified by their operation and could not explain how people were struck down. There was a noise, a flash of light and a puff of smoke but no visible missile (Reynolds 1995:46).

By the 1820s, however, most Aboriginal groups had learnt how to use guns and stole them in raids upon settlers' huts. By this time Aborigines had lost their fear of guns and knew their abilities and limitations. When fired, the gun had to be reloaded. This procedure took time and left the Europeans totally vulnerable to attack. The Aboriginal people would spring from behind bushes and attack with a range of traditional weapons, stolen guns, and hand-to-hand combat. Hand-to-hand combat was a skill the Tasmanian Aborigines were well trained in from their inter-tribal conflicts. After an attack, the Aborigines would disappear effortlessly into the bush making any chase by Europeans unsuccessful. They also adopted European dogs into their economic and social life. They taught the dogs to track down fleeing Europeans and remain quiet during surprise attacks.

The few hundred Europeans killed in the conflict were almost negligible considering the numbers killed were replaced by new arrivals from Britain. In 1830, convict transport brought almost 2,000 men and women on one trip (Reynolds 1995:47).

In 1830, an offensive known as 'The Black Line', was launched to remove the remaining Aborigines from the settled areas. At the operation's end only an old man and young child were captured, the rest slipped through their trap (Mollison & Everitt 1976:58).

However, it succeeded in clearing the Aboriginal people from the settled areas. The 'Line' was an event that had strained the total resources of the colony costing the government £ 30,000. This action by the Europeans almost certainly persuaded the survivors of the 'War' that a negotiated settlement be considered (Mollison & Everitt 1976:58). The Aboriginal population would never reach the same number after the Europeans negotiated peace terms with the Aboriginal people (Reynolds 1995:49).



The Indigenous population had dwindled to approximately 300. The constant attrition during the 1820s and the numbers killed or dying from disease were devastating to the Aboriginal population. The spread of introduced diseases such as measles, diphtheria and tuberculosis had a large impact on the decline of Tasmanian (as well as mainland) Aboriginal people (Mollison & Everitt 1978:09).

Plate 1. Truganini, the last 'full blood' Tasmanian Aboriginal.

(source: Clark 1983:42)

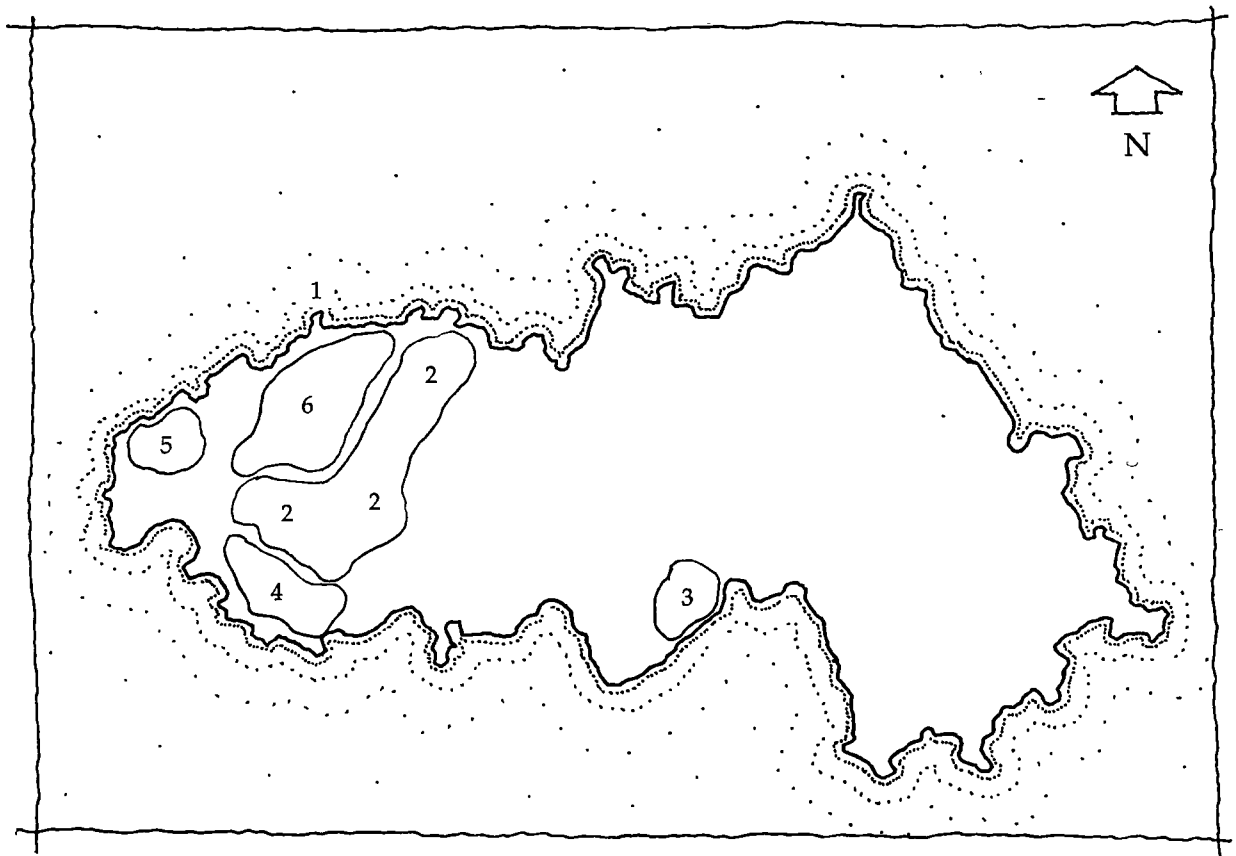
Between 1829 and 1834, George Augustus Robinson, a conciliator appointed by Governor Arthur, collected some of the remaining 135 Aboriginal survivors and relocated them on Flinders Island. Many Aboriginal people died of respiratory disease, malnutrition and homesickness. The forty seven survivors of this group were either returned to mainland Tasmania at Oyster Cove or moved to the smaller islands of the Furneaux group. The last 'full blood' male Aboriginal, William Lane, died in 1870. Truganini (or Trugernanna) the last 'full blood' female Tasmanian Aborigine died in 1876.

2.2 Aboriginal Settlement on Cape Barren Island

Cape Barren Island, was so named for its barren appearance by Thomas Furneaux in 1774 (Ryan 1982:227). The first known inhabitants on the island were members of a sealing expedition in 1798 under the command of Captain Chase (Mollison & Everitt 1978:08). The number of sealers in Bass Strait around 1802 was estimated at 200 (Fowler 1980:184). The area between Thunder and Lightning Bay and Ned Point had been inhabited by Islanders from around 1810. A group of fourteen sealers established themselves at Kent Bay on Cape Barren Island in 1831 (Mollison & Everitt 1978:64). By 1847, thirteen families lived on islands of the Furneaux Group. These families consisted of Aboriginal women and sealer husbands. The population of the 'Islander' community numbered fifty people. John Thomas and Nimerana (Teekoolterme) and three children lived on Cape Barren Island. Robert Rew and his part-Aboriginal wife Frances Anderson lived on the Island also (Ryan 1982:223).

Living on Gun Carriage Island were: Thomas Beeton, his wife and four children; Thomas Tucker and his wife; David Kelly and his Aboriginal son and John Riddle and his children (Ryan 1982:223). Living on Long Island were Edward Mansell and wife Julia (Black Julie) with their one child. On Tin Kettle Island lived John Smith and his three children.

On Woody Island lived; James Everett and Wottecowidyer and their four children; Richard Maynard and his Tasmanian Aboriginal wife Pollerwotteltekune, their four children and another Aboriginal woman. On Clarke Island lived Andrew Armstrong and his Aboriginal wife and their two children. On Preservation Island lived with James Munro with Aboriginal wife Marjory and two children (Ryan 1982:223).



1. 1798 - First inhabitants. Sealing expedition at Sanford Bay.
2. 1810 - Settlement between Thunder & Lightning Bay and Neds Point.
3. 1831 - Establishment of fourteen sealers at Kent Bay
4. 1872 - George Everett and family.
5. 1872 - John Smith and family.
6. 1872 - John Maynard, with Thomas and James Mansell.

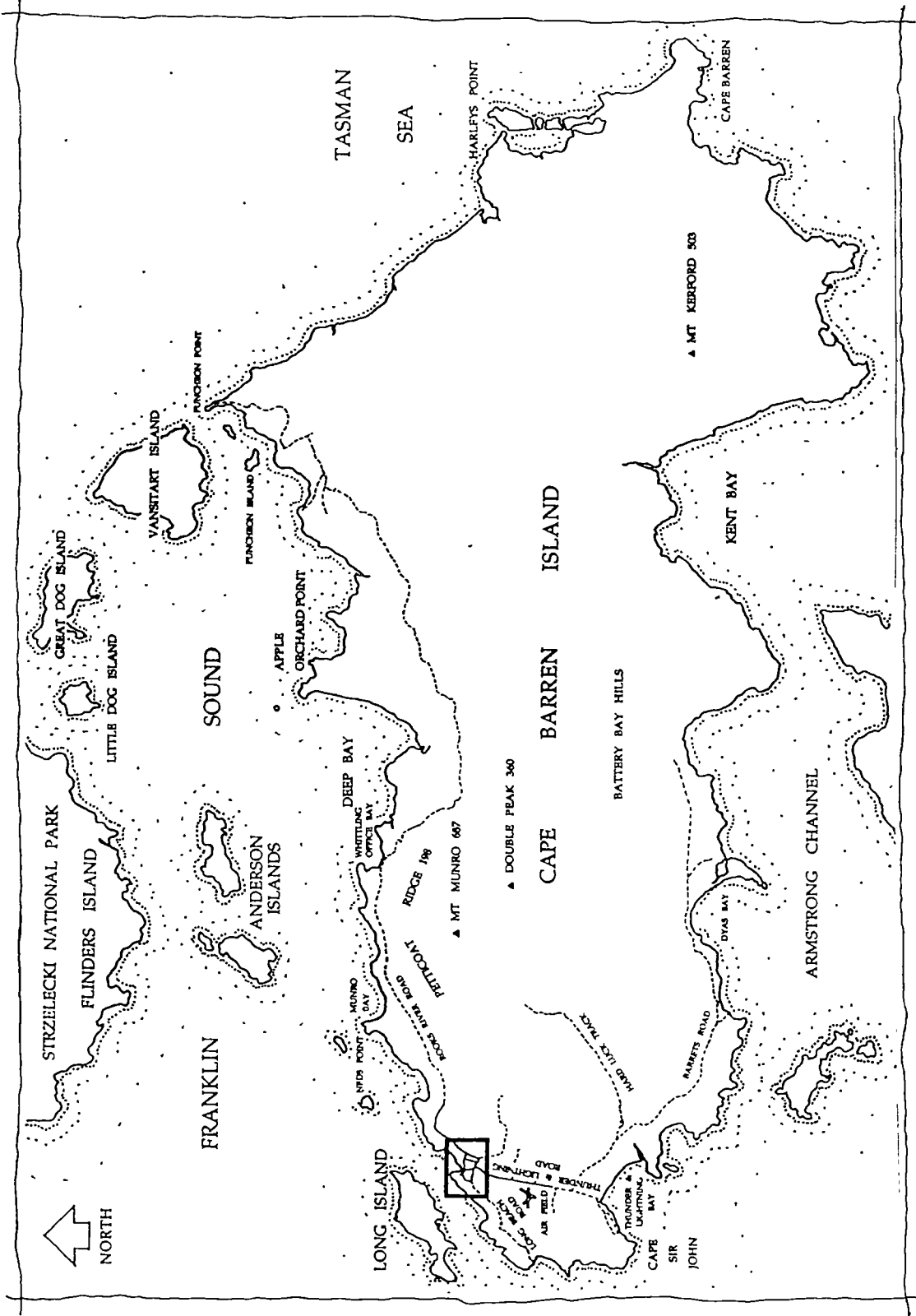
Map 2. Early Settlement on Cape Barren Island.

(source: Mollison & Everit 1978:68)

William Proctor and part Tasmanian Aboriginal Mary Ann Brown and their two children lived on Hunter Island. During the next twenty years three other European men entered the community. These were Richard Brown, John Summers and George Burges (Ryan 1982:223). These people formed the basis of the present day community of Flinders and Cape Barren Island (Gale 1978:10). By 1872 seven families lived on Cape Barren Island. There were thirty two adults and fifty-two children. Living at Thunder and Lightning Bay were George Everett and his family. At Long Beach were John Smith and family. In 1874 they relocated to the area that is now The Corner (Mollison & Everitt 1976:107). John Maynard, with Thomas and James Mansell, lived at The Corner. Thomas Rew lived at Rooks River and William Brown at Munro Bay (Ryan 1982:227). Each household was approximately three kilometres away from the next. However, the physical separation was no obstacle to social interaction as families constantly visited one another (Ryan 1982:227). In 1830 Henry Collis was appointed schoolmaster on Cape Barren Island and it was this action by the government that gave the community recognition and provided a stability it had never experienced (Ryan 1982:228).

During the 1840s the number of people settling on Cape Barren Island and other islands of the Furneaux group began to increase. The Tasmanian government decided to send the Surveyor-General to the island to make an official visit and make recommendations for the future planning of the island (Ryan 1982:224). Two years later the community applied for a missionary-catechist to educate their children.

This was refused by the Lieutenant-Governor on the grounds that he was not convinced of the Aboriginality of the community. However, there were at least seven 'full blood' Aboriginal women in the community (Ryan 1982:224).



Map 3. Cape Barren Island. Scale 1:300,000
(source: Tasmap, 1995)

The Anglican Church of Tasmania expressed interest in the establishment of a missionary enterprise on the Furneaux Islands and in September 1854 Bishop Nixon visited the island (Ryan 1982:224). He found the Aboriginal people to be free from many of the poor influences of white society. In 1855 Bishop Nixon was impressed with the Islanders' apparent innocence and good behaviour and convinced the Government to lease land on Cape Barren Island and other islands to the Aboriginal people (Ryan 1982:225).

The Maynard family moved to Cape Barren Island and the Beedons moved to Badger Island. In 1865 the *Waste Lands Amendment Act* made land available for lease for periods of up to fourteen years (Mollison & Everitt 1976:125). In the same year the Furneaux Community had been given permission to lease 222 hectares. Two ten-acre blocks for homestead and agricultural land on the western end of Cape Barren Island were offered to the Aboriginal people and the Islanders were acknowledged as a separate community (Ryan 1982:227). During this time the number of Aboriginal people living on Cape Barren Island reached one hundred.

With this population increase the Church of England gained interest in the island and its potential pool of converts. Canon Brownrigg visited the Island over thirty times between 1872 and 1885 (Clark 1983:28). His view was that the Aboriginal community was in need of guidance in order to acquire civilised habits (Ryan 1982:229). During his visits he would conduct prayer meetings, morning and evening services, perform baptisms, marriages and teach children Bible stories.

Services were held on Badger and Cape Barren Islands with up to forty Aboriginal people attending the church services. These people would travel in small boats from islands around the Armstrong Channel to attend the services (Clark 1983:31).

The introduction of European religion was met with little resistance by most indigenous Tasmanians during those years after the 'Black War'. However, tensions between the church and Aboriginal people increased when Ministers of the church openly disapproved of their lifestyles and applied increased pressure upon them to become farmers (Mollison & Everitt 1978:268).

The Aboriginal people's interests were focused on areas such as sealing, whaling, fishing and boat building. These were areas where the Aboriginal people exhibited knowledge and expertise. Farming, however, had never been a part of their existence. The church generally considered these people as inferior, lazy and in need of direction. Henry Hutchinson Montgomery in a letter to J.P. MacLaine wrote:

'These people are not English in character - the more you know them the less English and more native they are...They can never be judged as we should judge ourselves. They should be firmly governed as an inferior race' (Mollison & Everitt 1978:258).

The church's mission was to control almost every aspect of the Aboriginal community's lives (Clark 1983:31). So strong was the Aboriginal people's resolve not to abandon their traditional ways that many leaseholders refused to pay rent because they considered the land theirs by virtue of their Aboriginal ancestry (Ryan 1982:229). Because of the increased tensions some Aboriginal people left the reserve on Cape Barren to live on Flinders Island or elsewhere around the Furneaux group of islands, away from the intervention of the Church (Clark 1983:31).

Many Aboriginal people living on the islands were then forced to leave their houses as Europeans bought the leases to their lands. The Aboriginal people, after having lived on Tin Kettle Island, Great Dog Island and Long Island were moved to Cape Barren Island (Mollison & Everitt 1978:276).

In 1872, there were six families living on Cape Barren Island. Land was made available to them for lease. During the next ten years other Aboriginal families moved to Cape Barren Island and the population continued to increase. By 1885, the Aboriginal population reached 100 people. In 1889, a church, a school and a community hall were built on the Island (Mollison & Everitt 1978:278). During this time Cape Barren Island became the pastoral centre of the Furneaux Group with nineteen graziers (Pryor 1974:47).

By the early 1900s members of the Aboriginal community generally married Europeans and they were not all of the same physical appearance. However, those Aboriginal people of lighter colour than the older Aboriginal members of the community still maintained their Aboriginal identity (Ryan 1982:239). Though the Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island embraced many European modes of behaviour, they retained elements of their Aboriginal culture such as some traditional languages, and always acknowledged that they had origins different from the whites and were proud of their ancestry (Ryan 1982:239).

The Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island lived a lifestyle based on elements from both traditional Aboriginal and nineteenth century European society (Ryan 1982:224). They grew just enough wheat and potatoes in order to supplement their traditional diet of kangaroo, seals and mutton birds (Ryan 1982:223). The Aboriginal people visited each other for months at a time to exploit seasonal food resources (Ryan 1982:223). Summer was usually spent on Cape Barren Island. After the mutton bird season, families travelled to Badger Island where they stayed during the winter (Ryan 1982:228).

During the months of July and August many Aboriginal women collected shells for stringing and making necklaces. November was the 'egging' season where they would visit mutton bird rookeries and search for eggs. These were an important food source during the colder months (Clark 1983:19).

An important part of the Aboriginal people's traditions was the gathering of families after the mutton bird season (Ryan 1982:229). Everything was shared amongst the community and there was no distinction between work and leisure (Ryan 1982:229). The women maintained the tradition of stringing shell necklaces. During the year women would search an entire beach for certain types of shells to string and make into necklaces. During this activity the women would share stories and sing traditional songs (Ryan 1982:231).

By 1908 Cape Barren Island was incorporated into the Flinders Island Municipality. During this period tensions arose between the Aboriginal people and the 250 white settlers in the region. The white settlers considered the Aborigines to be 'spoon fed'. This was the opinion of most white settlers who were jealous of those Aboriginal people who had land (Mollison & Everitt 1978:228).

Because of an increase in tensions between the two communities Police Commissioner J.E.C. Lord was sent to the island to investigate the situation (Mollison & Everitt 1978:234). In his report Lord suggested that the Aboriginal reserve land on Cape Barren Island be made available to white settlers for lease also. However, since most of the Aboriginal community were unable to afford the purchase of land, white settlers would be able to take what land they liked thus forcing Aboriginal people off the island (Ryan 1982:239). He also outlined the recommendation that Aboriginal people should become eligible only if they were prepared to farm the land. The Aboriginal residents believed that they should be given the land outright without any conditions. However, in 1911, government legislation was passed stating that the reserve would not be granted to them (Ryan 1982:239).

There were thirty four dwellings on Cape Barren Island at this time housing 160 people. Seven of the houses were in good condition, eight were in fair condition and nine were in poor condition (Ryan 1982:240). *The Cape Barren Island Reserve Act of 1912* stated that all of the land on the reserve was to return to the Crown for subdivision into quarter acre agricultural blocks and all those Aboriginal people who held freehold land on the reserve lost ownership (Ryan 1982:239). Land was made available to the Aboriginal people under a number of conditions. All Islanders over the age of eighteen were eligible for these blocks of land.

After five years they would become rent free if a house was built on the block after two years and the lessee lived in the house for six months of the year. If the person did not adhere to the requirements of the lease then the block would become eligible for lease by other people. If after twenty one years of age an Aboriginal person was not a licensed occupier he or she would be removed from the island and relocated elsewhere in Tasmania (Ryan 1982:242).

By 1914 twenty seven licences were granted to Aboriginal families and new homes were built (Mollison & Everitt 1978:242). In addition, roads had been built and pine trees planted and gardens laid out. There were 104 cattle, 1,000 sheep and twenty horses on the island (Ryan 1982:243).

In 1922, there were 132 people living on the island and again the community petitioned the government, asking for the island to be set aside as an Aboriginal reserve. Their petition was rejected on the basis of a report by a government official, The Secretary of Lands. His report described the people as idle and lacking in skills and until they undertook to work the land their request would be denied (Clark 1983:32). The government insisted upon people farming the land. However, no encouragement or government assistance was given to the people. Furthermore, the poor quality soils would have made it extremely difficult to conduct farming on a large scale (Clark 1983:32).

By this time only a few people managed to qualify for ninety nine year leases to their properties. Some families had sub-let their blocks to other families, while others burnt down their homes when consumption killed members of their families (Ryan 1982:243). In 1924 the Director for Public Health highlighted the need for drastic action to be taken on Cape Barren Island. He claimed that local taxes were not being paid by the Aboriginal people who believed that the land should be theirs outright without the need to pay leases on blocks of land that were rightfully theirs (Ryan 1982:245).

In 1934, unemployment benefits were paid to Aboriginal people for the first time and two years later almost all Aboriginal people were receiving these benefits (Felton 1991A:35). Because of these payments, life for the Aboriginal people on the island became easier. Food and clothing were now more affordable than before and the Aboriginal standard of living increased. Islander prosperity was further increased by a number of good mutton bird seasons. By this time the population had grown to approximately 300 people (Felton 1991A:35).

During the Second World War, many Aboriginal people were sent to work around Tasmania under the Manpower Authority Scheme (Ryan 1982:247). In 1944 changes in government led to an enquiry into the Aboriginal community on Cape Barren Island. Federal and State Governments adopted a policy of assimilation and decided that the Aboriginal people should be absorbed into the white community. In 1945 the *Cape Barren Island Reserve Act* was established stating that all people living on the island had to leave by 1951. The government cut off services to the island and promised houses and jobs to Aboriginal people if they moved to Launceston. By 1958 the population on Cape Barren Island was 120 people (Ryan 1982:247). Members of the Aboriginal community left the island to move to Flinders Island, Launceston and mainland Australia (Felton 1991A:37).

For those Aboriginal people who relocated to Launceston, most were provided with housing from the social welfare department in a poor suburb called Invermay, now an industrial area of the city. Most of the Aboriginal community were displeased with their living conditions and missed their family and friends who still lived on Cape Barren Island and on other islands of the Furneaux Group (Felton 1991A:38). The mutton bird season was the time of year when many Aboriginal people would visit the islands and stay for months at a time with relatives at different locations before returning to Launceston. This pattern of migration had begun in the 1920s but was established much earlier when Islander families visited one another.

People who stayed on Cape Barren Island were denied unemployment benefits. However, despite this the Aboriginal people refused to leave. By the 1960s a series of poor mutton bird seasons and the government's refusal to recommence payment of unemployment benefits, forced many people to leave Cape Barren Island. By this time the island's population had dropped to about fifty people (Ryan 1982:247).

Many Aboriginal people moved to other islands around the Furneaux group, in particular, Flinders Island. This was a very difficult period for many Aboriginal people as many people were forced to live in areas of town that were sub-standard. Freda Spotswood, a former resident on Flinders Island recalled that:

'We lived in terraces. Nearly all the Aboriginal people lived in them. I didn't like it there. The white people at Lady Barron made us aware that we were different. I hadn't realised. I don't like to think about those years - the people would say things then they would laugh. I couldn't understand then, being young, but I realise what it was now. I used to hate going to the shops' (Felton 1991A:34).

There proved to be a shortage of work for many Aborigines on Flinders Island also. Many people moved to mainland Australia or Tasmania in order to find work. Alma Stackhouse recalls her experience:

'My family moved from Lady Barron (Flinders Island) to Launceston and went to live with my grandfather and my aunt... Many families moved from the Island around this time. The government thought it was time for the Aboriginal people to assimilate... In those days (if you were Aboriginal) you could only get jobs on fishing boats - there were really no other jobs. Many of the people had family in Launceston, so they went there to be with them and then tried to get jobs there. When Aboriginal people have grown up together there's always a strong bond of kinship and friendship' (Felton 1991A:35).

Housing for Aboriginal people living on Flinders Island was difficult to obtain. People would have to live in tents for months on end before houses were allocated to them. When houses were provided they were often old and rundown. Because of this many Aboriginal people set about building their own houses for their families. Clyde Mansell recalled that:

'When I was about twelve we lived for a time at a place called Blue Rocks. It's up on the west side of Flinders between Emita and the airport. There were about five or six houses spread out over a distance of about three kilometres. When we went to live there all the houses were in use. We found it impossible to get a house for rent. For about a year our home was a tent in the bush not far from the beach... It couldn't have been too easy for our parents. When at last dad found a job, and there was some money coming in, he bought a block of land from one of the old-timers on Flinders and dad then set to and built us a house. Nothing fancy mind you. It was just two rooms. He found most of the timber and the roofing iron that he used. Some buildings at the airport had been demolished and the materials dumped in the bush. From what I can remember I don't think dad even had a hammer. He used the back of a tommy axe to drive in the nails' (Felton 1991A:36).

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, there remained an Aboriginal community of fifty people on Cape Barren Island. In 1967, Aborigines were officially recognised as Australian citizens by a Commonwealth constitutional amendment referendum. This gave Aboriginal people equal rights. However, the people of Cape Barren Island were still fighting silent eviction (Ryan 1982:250).

A series of articles in the *Mercury* newspaper at this time supported pro-assimilationist ideas and referred to the Islanders as '...stubborn and living in squalor and refusing to move to Launceston to join their happy relatives' (*Mercury* 1968:06). By 1969 the introduction of government policies emphasising self determination for Aboriginal people to manage their own community affairs led to the establishment of an Aboriginal Islander council on Cape Barren (Ryan 1982:250).

In 1971 the island received an injection of funds for the first time and Aboriginal residents were provided with jobs. Following the Council's submissions for government assistance, funding for new housing and the provision of adequate services for the community were approved and implemented. By 1973 roads on the island were repaired, concrete water tanks were installed and the cemetery and war memorial were cleaned and repaired but no new homes had been built (Ryan 1982:253). Construction on a dam had begun in the same year and school facilities were improved. Since then government funded development on the island has been sporadic and limited in its scope.³ The provision of housing for Aboriginal residents as well as improvements to the island's infrastructure has been achieved through the initiatives of the Islander Council who is directly responsible for obtaining government funding and managing its own welfare (Ryan 1982:253).

Today, the Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island has increased to seventy people. There are twenty three houses on the Island and plans to build more to accommodate an increasing number of residents. There are plans to establish an oyster farm on the Island as an alternative to the declining mutton bird industry in a bid to provide employment for the Aboriginal people of the Furneaux group. Recently, increased awareness of the historical significance of Cape Barren Island to Tasmanian Aborigines has been acknowledged as well as other locations such as Oyster Cove on the southwest coast of Tasmania.

Community effort to maintain Aboriginal identity and preserve the increasing Aboriginal population on Cape Barren had resulted in the 'Back to Cape Barren' event of 1993. Nearly three hundred people returned to the home of their ancestors and their culture.

2.3 Summary

Aboriginal people have made Cape Barren Island their home for over 140 years.

Traditions such as mutton-birding established Tasmanian Aboriginal migratory patterns. Aboriginal families from all over the Furneaux group of islands would visit each other seasonally and stay for months at a time to capitalise on available food resources. By the early 1900s Tasmanian Aboriginal people lived lifestyles heavily influenced by Europeans. However, they still retained elements of their traditional culture and acknowledged and emphasised their Aboriginal origins.

The 'Black War' forced Aborigines from Tasmania to move to the Furneaux Islands. The settlers on Cape Barren Island consisted of sealers and their Aboriginal wives and children. By 1872 seven families lived on Cape Barren Island. The population numbered eighty-four people.

Increasing numbers of settlers to Cape Barren Island prompted the interest of the government and Church. They tried to maintain control over the Aboriginal people and placed restrictions and conditions upon Aboriginal people's access to land. The Aboriginal Islanders became a tight-knit community on Cape Barren Island and reduced the level of social contact with the European members of the island. By the late 1890s, they were now an enclave within the community at large (Mollison & Everitt 1976:123).

There was much pressure applied to the Aboriginal people to adopt European modes of behaviour, in particular, agricultural development of the land. This was not part of their Aboriginal lifestyle. The Aboriginal community did not conform to the regime imposed upon them. Instead, they oscillated between regulation and indifference. As a result, they became outcasts in their own community (Ryan 1982:237).

The Aboriginal people's history with the region was responsible for their continued presence on Cape Barren Island. Their collective approach to community and the maintenance of their Aboriginal identity strengthened their resolve to stay on Cape Barren Island despite the obstacles placed in their way by the government and Church.

By 1885, the Aboriginal population reached 100 people. In 1889, a church, a school and a community hall were built on the island. In 1911 there were thirty-four dwellings on Cape Barren Island housing 160 people.

The *Cape Barren Island Reserve Act 1912* forced Aboriginal people to farm the land if they wanted to remain on the island. Many Aboriginal people made compromises and began to farm the land in order to stay on Cape Barren Island. By 1914 roads had been built, pine trees planted and gardens laid out. In 1922, there were 132 people living on the island. By 1934 the population had grown to 300 people.

In the late 1950s Aboriginal people were forced to leave Cape Barren Island and live in sub-standard areas in Launceston away from family and friends. Those who remained on Cape Barren Island led a meagre existence. By the 1960s the population of Cape Barren Island dropped to fifty people.

It was not until the 1970s that the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island were given government assistance to make improvements to the community and the construction of houses. The establishment of a Cape Barren Island Council ensured that the needs of the Aboriginal people of the island would be addressed. By obtaining grants to assist in the development of housing and infrastructure on Cape Barren Island the community made improvements to its living and standards.

References

- 3 Author's conversations with Committee members of the Cape Barren Island Council revealed what they perceived as the government's intention to force people from the Island. This they explained was done by contributing only limited resources to the housing needs of the residents thus stifling population growth and reducing government expenditure in the region. 22/05/1995.

Chapter 3

Domiciliary Behaviour

The purpose of this chapter is to compare traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour with the contemporary lifestyle of the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island and identify the similarities. This chapter aims to determine if these similarities influence the way the Aboriginal people on the island use dwellings. This chapter also identifies particular domiciliary practices that exist within the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island and determines if these influence or contribute to particular patterns of domiciliary behaviour.

Two methods were used for the collection of data in this chapter. The first consists of data obtained from secondary sources. This includes an examination of traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour using literature sources based upon the written accounts of the observations of early European settlers to the region. The second method of data collection uses primary sources. This involves the author's observations and interviews with Aboriginal residents to obtain information about current Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour on Cape Barren Island.

3.1 Traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal Domiciliary Behaviour

3.1.1 Cooking

Traditionally, cooking was generally done by the women. A small fire was made using a flint and an animal was placed over the hot coals to cook (Plomley 1992B:15). Fish was cooked on a flat stone with a fire underneath it (Robson 1987:02). Kangaroo was cut into pieces before being placed on the coals and was seldom skinned (Plomley 1992B:15).

They put mussels and oysters in the ashes of the fire and they would cook fish and grubs in the same manner. When cooking kangaroo, rat or bandicoot they would throw the whole carcass on the fire and burn off all the hair then place it on the fire again (Walker 1989:285). They sometimes ate some parts of the insides. They would place the animal on the fire once again and take it off when cooked. They would eat it without bread or any other food (Plomley 1992B:23).

3.1.2 Food Gathering and Hunting

The men would hunt kangaroo, possum and echidnas while the women searched for shellfish and gathered bush food (Plomley 1992:15). This is similar to the way mainland Aborigines collected foodstuffs. Traditionally, women spent most of the day gathering bush foods such as roots, seeds, fruits and small animals, while the men did the hunting. Bush foods, in particular bush vegetables, required lengthy preparation involving soaking and leaching (Heppell 1979:80). The Aboriginal women would dive for crayfish and oysters in addition to gathering bush foods (Robson 1987:02). The women would spear bream and fresh water eels (Walker 1989:284). The Aboriginal women would gather 'native bread'. These were bulbs that grew under ground. They would dig for them using sticks (Plomley 1992B:16). The 'native bread' tasted very much like boiled rice (Plomley 1992B:27). Both the men and women would hunt mutton birds and collect their eggs. These were an important food source during the winter months (Appendix A). When out hunting the men would not run after kangaroo, instead the women would run and frighten them into position so the men could kill them. The women would carry everything and did all of the domestic duties (Plomley 1992B:27). When the meal was cooked, the husband would eat first. What remained was then shared by the mother and the children (Plomley 1992B:15).

3.1.3 Living Environments and Dwelling Types

During the early years of European settlement in Tasmania, the indigenous people sought protection from the elements in a number of ways. They used the shade provided by trees to protect them from the sun and caves and shrubs for some protection against rain and wind (Robson 1987:03).

3.1.3.1 Shelter

The shelters were made of two forks of trees with a long piece of bark bent over one end, towards bad weather. The women and children lay under the shelters at night. The single men lay around a separate camp fire, three men round each with his head on his comrades hip, making a chain (Robson 1987:04). In dry weather the Aborigines would lie stretched out on the sandy ground. They seldom made shelters for the night (Plomley 1992B:14). They would sleep on the sheltered sides of trees. They would sometimes break off a few boughs (Plomley 1992B:14). Some Aborigines slept on the bare ground under a bush (Plomley 1992B:87). If it was wet a man would squat down covering his head with grass until his wife made a fire in front of him (Plomley 1992B:87). Some Aboriginal people would seldom make shelters at night; they would get on the sheltered side of trees or under logs (Plomley 1992B:87).

In bad weather some Aborigines would make a shelter 'Mimi' of boughs tied together at the top with an opening (Plomley 1992B:11). Their sleeping places were put together with boughs in the shape of a half moon. Their dogs used to sleep with them (Plomley 1992B:19). They made windbreaks of large pieces of bark (Robson 1987:03). Huts were made of boughs of wattle trees (Plomley 1992B:26).

3.1.3.2 Camps

Two or three single men would have a fire together. Each married man would have his own fire which he shared with his children (Plomley 1992B:15). The women would gather the wood and start the fires (Plomley 1992B:15). They sat round the fire in a ring with the soles of their feet pointing towards the fire (Plomley 1992B:20). Camps were chosen in sheltered areas and never exposed or in the open (Plomley 1992B:15). They would divide the camp into family groups and always camped by the water side (Robson 1987:04).

3.1.4 Customs

The indigenous Tasmanian people were afraid of the dark and never moved much at night (Plomley 1992B:15). They would start a fire by rubbing two sticks together. They would then make fire sticks of tea-tree or sheoak and habitually carry these sticks (Walker 1989:282). The Aborigines also used the spongy head of a honeysuckle tree for making fire sticks. These were six to eight inches long and would keep the fire going all day (Plomley 1992B:43). When asked why they pointed the fire stick at an angle in front of themselves at night they replied, "Debbil, debbil, debbil"- meaning devil (Plomley 1992B:19). More than two fire sticks were carried in case one extinguished (Plomley 1992B:15).

The women were responsible for keeping the fire sticks going and they used to carry them all the time (Robson 1987:03). They made a fire at night to keep away the bad spirits as they were easily frightened (Plomley 1992B:12). They made fires by getting a piece of dried grass tree, about two feet of it, and twirled a stick or spindle of grass tree and kept adding dry grass till the fire got bigger (Walker 1989:283).

They believed that 'Woorowa' (a ghost or spirit of the dead) came to them in times of noise, but not in appearance. For example, if they were out at night and heard a stick crack it was 'Woorawa' near them (Plomley 1992B:25).

After being bitten by a snake they would make an incision above the cut and drain some blood. After this they would go into the bush and hide themselves for a week and not talk to anybody (Plomley 1992B:13). They believed that all animals could communicate with each other in a language of their own (Plomley 1992B:22).

3.1.5 Religious Beliefs

Traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal religion has many similarities with mainland Aboriginal religion. Spirits were an integral part of their religious life. These spirits were associated with creation, fire, rivers, trees, day, night and the dead (Clark 1992:7). It is believed that the spirit 'Moihernee' made the first black man. He did this by changing the image of 'Parlevar', who had a tail and no joints in his legs, very much resembling a kangaroo. 'Parlevar's' physical features, however, did not enable him to sit down. When the great star spirit 'Droemerdeem' saw this, he cut off 'Parlevar's' tail and made joints in his legs, and in doing so created man (Clarke 1983:28).

Tasmanian Aborigines feared the dark because of the evil spirit 'Wrageo-Wrapper' which governed the night. Because of this they always carried fire sticks. They had the belief that 'Wang' the crow had brought them the fire stick in the first instance (Plomley 1992B:138).

The good spirit 'Noiheener' governed the day (Clarke 1983:28). The Aborigines also believed in the devil spirit called 'Tarrabar' (Plomley 1992:11). They referred to hell as 'Warratina loonta' (Plomley 1992B:87).

If anything happened such as a sudden death, they believed it occurred because they had displeased the good spirit (Plomley 1992B:21). The Aborigines believed in apparitions of spirits and the deceased. They would sit as a group around a stone and sing together, then a spirit would appear to them (Plomley 1992B:15).

3.1.6 Death and Ceremony

The Aborigines believed that when they were close to death they were approaching the spirit world. They saw their deceased mother and father and so on, who were still in this world but in a spirit form. They had no fear of death. They saw it as going from one stage into another (Plomley 1992B:21). Whenever an Aboriginal person made up their mind to die they died within a couple of days (Plomley 1992B:21).

Religious taboos were observed among Tasmanian Aborigines, similar to their mainland cousins. These taboos were particularly concerned with the ceremonies involving death. When a person died, special taboos were pronounced. These included the total abstinence from particular foods of which the deceased was fond. People were also forbidden to mention the deceased's name for as long as they lived and had to avoid their burial place (Clark 1983:38).

3.1.7 Song and Dance

Song and dance were an integral part of the indigenous people's way of life (Clark 1992:07). Both males and females danced. On occasions they danced together, other times they danced simultaneously but separately. The war dance and kangaroo dance, however, was performed exclusively by males (Clark 1987:53). On most evenings after their meal people would spend hours around a fire singing and dancing. This was their main form of entertainment (Clark 1987:55). Mime was an important part of dance and stories were told through dance.

The stories were of well-known myths and stories relating to war and hunting and the beauty of nature (Clark 1992:07). In 1816 James Kelly witnessed the dance by a group of women celebrating the killing of a large number of seals. There were 300 people involved in the dance and they formed one line divided into three sections of men, women and children:

'The women in the centre division began a song, and joining their hands formed a circle, dancing round a heap of dead seals. Then they threw themselves upon the ground putting themselves into the most grotesque attitudes, beating the lower parts of their bodies with their hands and kicking the sand over each other with their feet. The loud laughter of men and children evidenced their gratification with the sport, and the women having sat down, the children went through a similar dance. The men then commenced a sort of sham fight with spears and waddies, dancing afterwards around the heap of seals, and sticking their spears into them as if they were killing them. The game lasted about an hour' (Clark 1987:55).

Song accompanied everyday tasks such as the sharpening and straightening of spears by the men and preparations for diving for shell fish by women (Clark 1987:54). Song was not only used as a form of rejoicing but also used in mourning, in the event of injury and death. The songs were performed by individuals or by groups of people. Some periods of mourning would last a whole day while others lasted only half an hour (Clark 1987:56).

Depending upon the status of the individual within the community the mourning was done by either the immediate family or the whole community (Clark 1987:56). A young girl was not mourned in song or ritual but cremated and buried (Clark 1987:56). This behaviour draws parallels with some mainland Aboriginal traditions concerning death customs (O'Connell 1979:111).

3.1.8 Art

Indigenous Tasmanian art was geometrically based. The motifs they used in their designs combined circles, lines and dots forming patterns (Clark 1992:07). These geometric patterns were found as petroglyphs or rock carvings and as charcoal drawings in caves and on pieces of bark that would line huts. The carvings and drawings relate to the Tasmanian Aboriginal mythology of creation, stories of the sun and moon, and men, women and animals (Clark 1983:32). The Aborigines also made hand stencils, a tradition of mainland Aboriginal groups (Clark 1983:32). These were outlines of their hands done by mixing red ochre with water and spitting it over their hand leaving the shape of their hand. Necklaces were also made and worn by men and women. The necklaces were made of shells, kangaroo sinews covered with ochre and sometimes strips of animal fur. Shell necklaces were made by the women who would spend hours sitting by the shore singing songs, collecting shells and making necklaces (Clark 1992:06).

3.2 Contemporary Tasmanian Aboriginal Domiciliary Behaviour - Cape Barren Island

In 1987, a study conducted by Ross of the Aboriginal community of Halls Creek, Western Australia, found that the daily activities which were part of everyday life, formed the basis of the social interaction that took place between people (Ross 1987:86). Domestic activities as understood in western terms, such as food preparation, cooking, eating and sleeping involve groups of people interacting throughout the day and night. Seldom are such activities conducted individually. The Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island, share many similar aspects of social life that exist in mainland Aboriginal communities.

3.2.1 Cooking

3.2.1.1 Meals

The Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island eat meals that usually require little preparation. Meals that do require preparation usually take place in the late afternoon. On occasions they may opt for the more substantial meal at noon and a smaller meal or hot drink or nothing at all in the late afternoon or evening. This is particularly true if people are going hunting for wallaby or retiring to bed early. The evening meal usually takes between thirty to fifty minutes to prepare depending on how many people will be staying for the meal and what is being prepared.

3.2.1.2 Meal Composition

During the 1920s, bread was a staple diet of the Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island, and was baked fresh almost every day. The bread (damper) was made using flour, baking powder and water. Yeast bread was never made. In addition to damper, brown cakes, pastries and stews were made (Felton 1991B:24). All of these were cooked using bake ovens. Today, bread is included in all meals and eaten in large quantities during the main meal. The evening meal usually consists of meat which is fried or boiled accompanied by boiled potatoes on most occasions and boiled carrots or peas other times. The meat is usually in the form of frozen sausages, tinned meat or occasionally lamb chops. The meat is purchased at the general store along with fresh carrots, potatoes and frozen peas.

Mutton birds are usually eaten fresh when the 'birding' season commences and also frozen from the previous season. When eaten fresh the birds are skinned and much of their fat removed. This results in quite a small portion.

The mutton birds are usually boiled or sometimes cooked on an open fire. The fat from the skins is collected and pressed or boiled to extract an orange coloured oil. The oil is used for softening and protecting leather, applied to surfaces as a lubricant and taken orally. Those people who take the oil claim it to have medicinal properties for easing constipation, relieving arthritic pain and reducing the effects of poor circulation. Recently, the medicinal properties of the mutton bird have been proven to be true. A study conducted by the Department of Biochemistry at the University of Tasmania, has found that the meat of mutton bird is rich in unsaturated fats which assist in the primary prevention of cardiovascular disease, such as heart attack and stroke (Harris 1995:01).

Wallabies are hunted on the island and are prepared by skinning and gutting the animal and leaving it to hang upside-down overnight. The Aboriginal people, however, tend to limit their intake of wallaby, preferring the processed meats purchased at the shop. Wallabies are usually hunted to feed pet dogs and cats.

3.2.1.3 Meal Preparation

During the early 1900s, cooking was conducted over open fires using big black iron pots. Bake ovens (camp ovens) were also used. These ovens were large iron pots with lids used to bake bread and cook meat. The ovens were placed on top of the coals of an open fire and hot coals were placed on top (Felton 1991B:26).

Today, meals are usually prepared and cooked within the kitchen. The Aboriginals use the gas stove and seldom use the oven. The grill is used to toast bread if a toaster is unavailable or broken. The four gas jets of the stove are usually sufficient for cooking on most occasions. In some cases electric fry pans are used in addition to the gas stove for larger pieces of meat or when there are many people expected for the main meal.

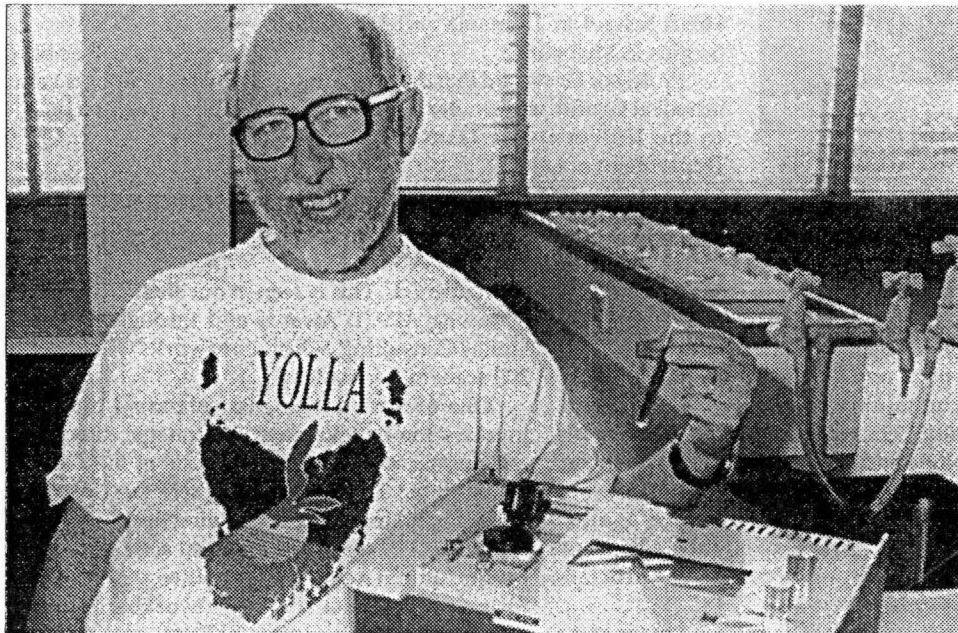


Plate 2. Dr. David Woodward - coordinator of the research team which conducted the nutritional analysis of mutton bird.

(source: *UniTas*, No. 81, July 12, 1995).

3.2.1.4 Indoor Cooking

Cooking on most occasions is a group activity for the Aboriginal people on Cape Barren. When conducted indoors, the kitchen and dining areas are full of people who are helping, talking and watching the preparation of meals. Sometimes food preparation spills out of the kitchen and into the dining area because of the shortage of bench space available in the kitchen. During the winter months the kitchen becomes crowded because people seek the warmth of the gas or wood stove. Activities such as talking and watching television accompany the work done in the kitchen, thus making dinner the busiest and most exciting meal time of the day.

3.2.1.5 Outdoor Cooking

When the weather is fine on Cape Barren Island cooking takes place outdoors on a barbecue. A large metal plate is placed over the flames on a steel frame or rested on large rocks. Frozen chops and sausages are usually cooked. Wallaby and mutton birds are also roasted over the open flames. Because of the annoyance caused by flies, outdoor cooking is usually done at dusk when their presence is less disturbing. The cooking fires are usually close to the kitchen area or near the rear porch of the house where light from the porch can shine onto the fire area.

3.2.1.6 Eating

Meals indoors in the morning and at noon usually take place in the living area of the house. The evening meal most often takes place in the living room in addition to the dining area if the two areas are combined. If they are separated, then everyone will eat in the living area. This is due to the large number of people who may be present during the evening meal.

People having breakfast sometimes eat their meals in the kitchen and sit on chairs or stools beside work benches where they place their meals. However, residents may also eat breakfast in the living area.

Meals eaten in the living area of the house have people sitting on couches with a plate of food resting upon their knees. Children also sit on the floor of the living area with their meal before them while watching television. If the television is located in the living area then many people in the household will eat their meal in that area. Meals taking place in the living area may involve as many as twelve people. People will move furniture from the kitchen and dining area to the living room if the television is located there.

Meals are also eaten outside when the weather is fine. The noon meal, which may consist of a sandwich, is usually eaten outside by children while playing and by adults while meeting with others for an afternoon talk under a tree or at the shop. When meals are cooked outside, people sit or stand around the cooking fire with their meal. The number of people attending an outside evening meal can vary from the immediate household and a few friends to a larger gathering invited to use the cooking fire. In such cases, people bring their own meat so as not to strain the provision of food of the host household.

3.2.1.7 Food Storage

Traditionally, little food was stored for any length of time. Food intended for storage was wrapped in paper bark or placed in grass bags and placed on the roofs of shelters or tied from tree branches or the high end of shades away from the reach of dogs and ants (Walker 1989:97).

The Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island store food at various points around the kitchen area. Perishables such as fresh meat and milk are stored in a refrigerator located in the kitchen. Canned foods are usually placed on shelves or in cupboards. However, cupboard doors remain open. Items such as butter, bread, sugar, tea and coffee are usually placed on bench tops or on tables in the dining area ready for use. If a household has a freezer, then it is usually located in the laundry. Large freezers are not common among Aboriginal Islanders and are usually shared by two or more households.

Those households without access to freezers buy meat every day from the store. These people are at a disadvantage because the limited supply of meat means the store quickly runs out thus forcing many people to hunt and eat wallaby or mutton bird if in season. If meat is unavailable then sandwiches are usually eaten with a range of spreads or boiled vegetables and tomato sauce.

Kitchen utensils, cutlery and crockery are stored in a visible manner, usually placed near the stove and on bench tops or suspended from high shelves in open view. Cupboards storing plates, pots and pans are often open. Modern kitchen appliances such as microwave ovens are in many houses but seldom used. Instead, many are placed on top of refrigerators and used as clocks as they digitally display the time. Clocks in most households require batteries for their operation while the microwave's clock runs on electricity. This is preferred to ordinary clocks even though the microwave oven is redundant.

3.2.1.8 Household Waste

Food scraps are either fed to pet dogs and cats or disposed in specific areas in the yard. Food scraps such as vegetable peel, tea leaves and other bio-degradable materials are disposed of just a few metres away from the house. This area is usually located under a bush, a group of plants or around a tree.

Household garbage, such as paper and flammable materials are usually placed in the wood-burning heater and often used as kindling to start fires. Garbage such as glass, metal and plastic which cannot be reused by the household is taken to the refuse tip located at the southern end of the township.

3.2.2 Washing

3.2.2.1 Personal Hygiene

The Aboriginal Islanders wash regularly and place importance upon personal cleanliness and hygiene. Adults shower most mornings during summer months and depending upon their physical exertion that day, will either shower or wash their hands and face and brush their teeth before going to sleep. During the winter months adults shower less frequently, approximately two to three times a week.

Most adults do not use the bath tub. Children are its primary users. The elderly tend not to use bath tubs because of the difficulty they experience whilst getting in and out. Instead, elderly people almost always use showers. Children usually wash their face and brush their teeth in the mornings and are usually bathed before bed. Babies are sometimes bathed in the bath tub but most regularly in the large metal sinks located in the laundry. In most households, adults wash their hair over sinks or use buckets in the bath tub and not whilst under the shower. The reason for this separate wash is because of the large quantity of hot water that is used whilst under the shower.

Government houses are fitted with electric hot water systems. Waste water from personal washing is disposed of into the sewer system. This assists in the treatment of waste at the sewage lagoons. In times of water shortages during summer, restrictions on water use are encouraged. Bath water is used to water plants and wash dirty clothes.

3.2.2.2 Clothes Washing and Domestic Cleaning

Clothes washing usually takes place on fine days. Those few households with clothes dryers are in the fortunate position of being able to wash and dry clothes whenever they choose. However, most perform this task when the weather is fine. During extended periods of rainy weather, those households with clothes dryers let other households dry their clothes for short periods of time.

Clothes are also dried by placing them in a 'clothes horse' in front of wood heaters. Temporary clothes lines are strung from one corner of the living area to another in order to dry wet clothes. When a wood fire is not burning, garments are suspended above gas stove tops to dry.

Washing machines and clothes dryers are usually located in the laundry area of the houses. However, some households regard their clothes dryers as a valuable commodity and have them placed in the kitchen, so that it can be easily supervised by those who are usually within the kitchen area. Heat generated from its operation is regarded as desirable during the winter months.

Single occupancy houses seldom have washing machines. In such cases clothes washing is either done by hand in the laundry tub or bath tub. Depending on the weather, clothes requiring washing are also taken to another's house where a washing machine or clothes dryer is available. Those households with infants and small children all have washing machines and in most cases clothes dryers. Those people expecting children view the purchase of these items as an important addition to the household.

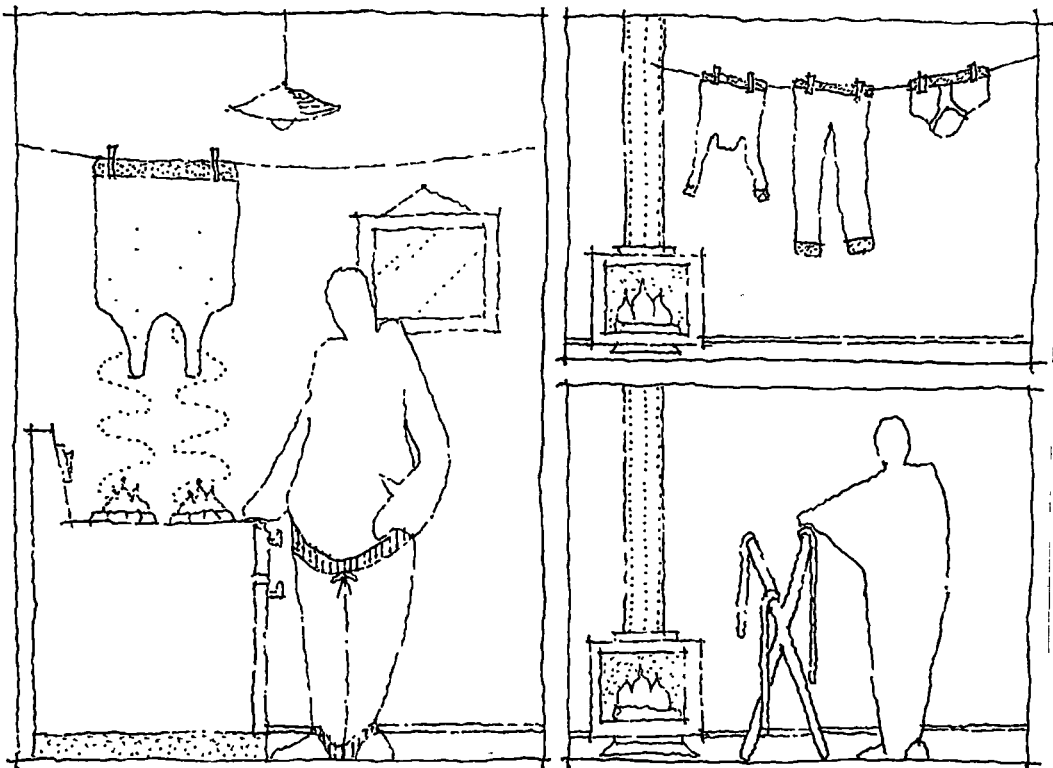


Figure 1. Clothes drying methods used by some Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island. (source: C. Zidak, 1995)

Two brands of washing powder are sold at the general store. Bleach is seldom used. Soap is also used for clothes washing, particularly by those individuals who do not own washing machines. Because of the cost involved in using hot water, most households opt for cold water clothes washing. Clothes washing usually takes place once a week.

Domestic house cleaning varies from once to twice a week depending upon the number and frequency of visitors and the size of the house. People living in one bedroom units do not perform house cleaning as frequently as those people in three and four bedroom houses. This is because of the smaller household number and limited movement of individuals within the house.

House cleaning duties consist usually of sweeping and mopping floors. Vacuum cleaners are seldom used or are only in houses where high fibre length carpets are located. Household duties are usually divided and cleaning responsibilities are shared equally. For example, a couple with children will divide the house cleaning duties. The female sweeps or vacuums the floor, makes the beds and performs the clothes washing by hand or washing machine. The male will most often wash dishes and perform duties such as firewood collection and chopping as well as any minor maintenance such as changing tap washers, fly screen repairs and light bulb replacement. Children are usually responsible for keeping their play areas tidy.

Within single parent households, of which all were comprised of mothers with children, most duties are the responsibility of the mother. However, children in this household composition have greater responsibilities than those households where a male is present. Their responsibilities include; gathering wood, washing dishes, preparing vegetables for meals and the making of their beds and general tidiness of their bedrooms and play areas.

3.2.3 Sleeping

3.2.3.1 Household Sleeping Arrangements

Aboriginals on Cape Barren Island sleep indoors with most people within a household choosing to sleep in bedrooms. These bedrooms are usually designated to individuals, couples or as many as, but no more than four people. Two bunk-beds are usually the maximum number of beds able to fit in one room. People sleeping in bedrooms leave their door open so that warmth from the wood heaters flows through into all the rooms. People sleep on spring mattresses on a wire or timber bed frame. Others sleep on foam mattresses on wire bed frames or have them placed on the floor of their bedrooms.

People not only sleep in the evening but may also choose to sleep in the afternoon, particularly after a meal. Those who commonly practice this are adult and elderly men. They sleep in the living area on the couch or floor, next to the fire, or in the bedroom with the door open with blinds or curtains drawn.

3.2.3.2 Visitor Sleeping Arrangements

Visitors to an Aboriginal household on Cape Barren Island may sleep in bedrooms with those members of the household or in the living area next to the heater. As many as seven visitors may sleep in this area during their stay which causes crowding. Visitors sleeping in the living area may sleep on the couch or on the floor. Those people sleeping on the floor might sleep upon foam rubber mattresses or upon a number of blankets placed on the floor. In most cases the warmth of the living area does not require people to cover themselves with blankets. People sleeping in the living area sleep in pyjamas or fully clothed. People sleeping in bedrooms sleep in pyjamas on top of their beds if hot or partially clothed, covered with sheets, blankets or quilts. Many households do not have electric blankets and those who own them seldom use them.

Visitors to a household, in most cases men, may choose to sleep in their cars if there are people already sleeping in the living area or they prefer privacy. People sleeping in vehicles usually sleep one each across the front and rear seats of the car. These people sleep fully clothed and depending upon the weather cover themselves with blankets and towels. When alcohol is planned to be consumed, individuals or groups of men will drive to remote locations around the island and drink. The men either sleep in the car or on blankets around a fire. One Aboriginal resident did not sleep in the bedroom at all. Instead he preferred to sleep in the living area, and divided the kitchen/dining area from the living area by using a Venetian blind.

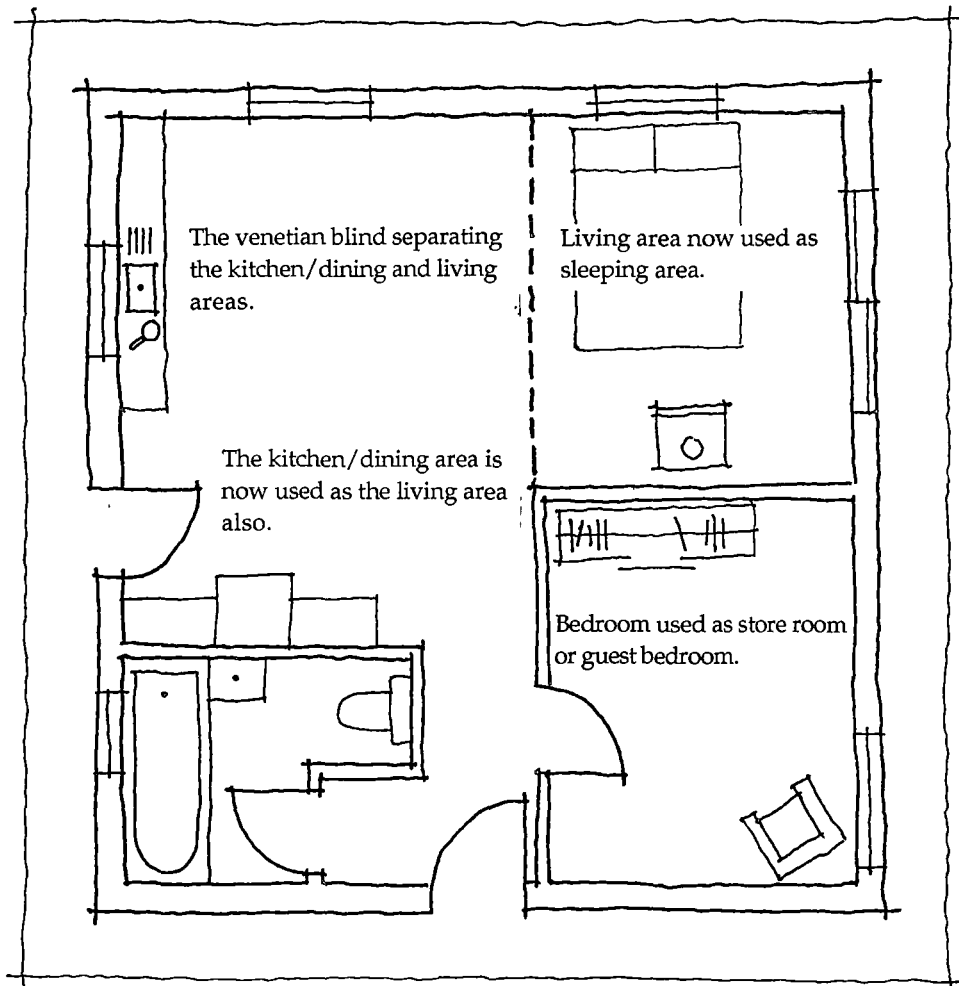


Figure 2. The sleeping arrangement of a single bedroom government unit on Cape Barren Island, 04/04/95. (source: C. Zidak, 1995)

The kitchen/dining area had become the living area while the living area was the sleeping area located next to the wood-burning heater.

The bedroom had become disused because the orientation of the house had made the bedroom the coldest part of the unit. The room was used as a store room or spare bedroom for visitors. Bedrooms are only used for sleeping if people choose to use them. Because of this many people felt bedrooms were literally '*...a waste of space.*' ⁴

People living alone or couples living with children, expressed the same opinion. They felt that once a bed was placed in a bedroom, that the space was of no other use. The space around the bed was used only to walk to either side of the bed. Some people pushed their beds into a corner of the room so that more space was then available for their personal possessions such as portable stereo, clothes, wardrobe or dresser.

3.2.4 Traditional Customs

Today, the Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island, particularly the older residents, believe in spirits associated with the dead. The older Aboriginal residents, when asked, preferred not to speak about this topic. Younger residents, however, explained a little about the older residents' beliefs. They explained that belief in spirits associated with the dead still exists. Though traditional ceremonies are no longer practised, there is still the fear of spirits and a belief of the folklore surrounding death.

Few Aboriginal people venture outside after dark. A crash of a light aircraft on the island in 1991, resulted in the fatality of three passengers. One person survived the crash. The deceased were left in the wreckage for three days until a coroner from Melbourne could arrive and determine the cause of the accident. During this time a great uneasiness surrounded many of the Aboriginal community. Children were not allowed outside to play, and outdoor meetings and activities were suspended until the bodies were taken off the island.

3.2.5 Music and Dance

Community dances were an important social event during the 1940s and 1950s. During this period dances were conducted every Saturday night at The Corner in the Community Hall and all the residents of the island would attend (Clark 1986:29). On special occasions such as weddings and Christmas, people from as far as Flinders Island would attend. Many of the residents of the island played a musical instrument and provided music for the dances. The frequency of evening dances decreased when the population of Cape Barren Island started to dwindle during the early 1960s. Today, Country and Western music is a favourite of the Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. Many householders listen to their stereos each day, providing entertainment whilst having visitors, or accompanying them as they do domestic activities such as preparing meals or work around their house.

3.2.6 Art

The only existing traditional art form practised by the Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island today is necklace making. This art is only practised by the women of the island. Some residents paint their cars in a combination of bright colours applied by small dabs of paint. The cars are painted often and in varying colours.

3.2.7 Religious Beliefs

Today, the church at The Corner conducts services every few months and also for important religious events such as Easter and Christmas. A Church of England priest from Flinders Island is flown in to hold these services with many of the Aboriginal Islanders attending.

3.2.8 Movement

Individuals' movement around the island's housing community is by myriad interconnecting tracks leading from house to house. Fences, roads and planting act as barriers modifying pedestrian traffic slightly, however they do little to restrict access to houses by others who use the many tracks that crisscross the township. It is not uncommon for people to walk or drive through another's back yard or area of land in order to reach their destination or simply to visit. During daylight hours this practice is accepted. However, it is an unwelcome occurrence during the evening.

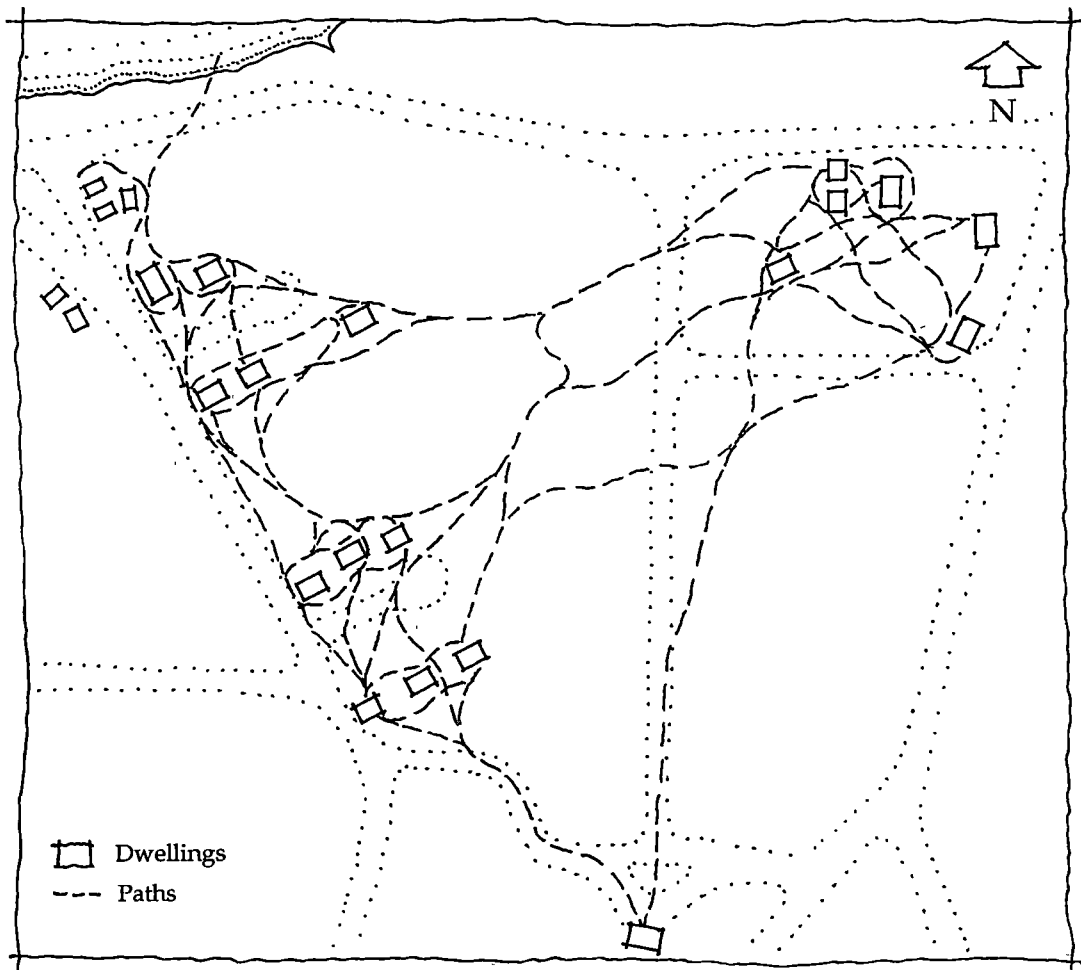


Figure 3. Movement patterns of the Aboriginal residents on Cape Barren Island, 8:00 a.m.-7:00 p.m. 19/03/1995 (source: C Zidak, 1995)

When the level of visitation or traffic becomes a disturbance, the occupant of the house will visit others or use physical barriers such as a parked car across the track to divert traffic or restrict access.

3.2.9 Privacy

Residents maintain privacy levels in much the same way as they restrict access or deny movement, by using physical barriers such as a parked car, stacked fire wood, a line of 44-gallon drums or by not answering calls. The latter is seldom used as the Aboriginal Islanders consider it impolite to ignore visitors. The residents may use a reason such as tiredness, indicating to visitors not to call. Conversely, if a person is visited, then it is considered rude if that person does not return the gesture. Visual signals also indicate to people whether a resident wishes to remain undisturbed as explained further in this chapter.

3.2.10 Communication

The Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island are a very closely-related and interactive group of people. Today, social interaction is an integral part of their culture, providing a means for conversation, business, recreation and above all, exchange of information regarding community events, individual's activities and news of any changes within their community. This in essence is the Islander's means of gaining information as to the condition of their social environment in much the same way as newspapers keep the mainland community informed of daily events that occur around them. Verbal communication is the most popular and important form of information exchange within the Islander community. People will visit one another and sit and discuss local gossip for hours. This is usually done over coffee in the mid-morning or after lunch. This form of information exchange ensures that news within the community travels fast and true to its original content. ⁵

Vision is also an important part of communication within the community as much can be told by simply looking for visual signs as to the condition of something personal and environmental. For example, if a resident is known to have a vehicle and that vehicle is usually parked at the front of the house, then it is known that the person is home and receiving visitors.

If the vehicle is parked at the rear of the house then it is understood that the person is not at home, or at home but not receiving visitors. The benefit of this form of communication is that residents living 300 to 400 metres away can simply look towards a person's house and know if they are home, open to visitors or wishing to be left alone. This feature is similar to the tradition-oriented practices of mainland Aborigines. Within mainland tribes, Aborigines place great importance upon being able to easily survey their camp in order to keep abreast of changes within their environment. The ability to observe the horizon without visual obstruction enables them to see approaching weather changes (Heppell 1979:35). This form of communication also benefits the occupants of the house in not having to personally turn visitors away. Aboriginal residents have a custom of leaving the front door of their dwelling open most days throughout the year, regardless of the weather. If it is observed that their door is closed, then it is known that they are not home or home but not receiving visitors.

Written communication is also used by residents in the form of a bulletin board located at the general store. Here, notices for council meetings, community events and personal advertisements and comments are placed for all to read. The island also receives a news letter called the *Islander News* once a month. This keeps the communities of Flinders and Cape Barren Island informed of community developments, entertainments visiting the islands, employment opportunities, services, births and bereavements.

3.2.11 Social Disruption

The Aboriginal community of Cape Barren is generally quiet and experiences few disturbances. Those times when rowdy behaviour does occur, generally involve alcohol. However, the over-consumption of alcohol is not tolerated by the general community. Because of this, individuals consuming alcohol either stay indoors or drive to remote locations on the island and stay there while drinking. This practice avoids any disturbance to others in the community. In such circumstances the violence is short-lived as intervention by other community members quells further disruption.

3.2.12 Social Equilibrium

Because of the small population and close family and community ties, criminal behaviour is almost non-existent. People generally know what others are doing or where individuals are at certain times of the day. This close community bond serves as an effective means of self policing. People leave doors unlocked and windows open day and night, even while houses are unoccupied.

3.3 Conclusions

3.3.1 Similarities between traditional and contemporary Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour on Cape Barren Island

Mutton birding continues to remain an important cultural practice to the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island today. The mutton bird season brings together Aboriginal people from all over the Furneaux group of islands continuing the contemporary seasonal movement patterns established in the 1870s. The tradition of visiting friends and family is still continued today among the Aboriginal Islanders and social interaction is an integral part of their way of life.

These visits may last from a few hours to a few days in duration. This practice was common during the late 1800s because of the distances between neighbouring dwellings and the reliance on available seasonal food sources which made it necessary for visits to be two to three months in duration. Today, dwellings are located much nearer to one another and there is no dependence upon the availability of seasonal food supplies. Because of this, visits by the Aboriginal people are much shorter in duration. Visitations may lead to a number of people visiting at one time and occupying a household.

The traditional practice of groups of people participating in an activity is evident within the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. This is particularly true for domiciliary activities such as preparing and eating meals. Other activities conducted in groups include indoor recreational activities such as playing cards and watching television.

Today, Tasmanian Aboriginal people live lifestyles very similar to Europeans. However, they still retain elements of their traditional culture and acknowledged and emphasise their Aboriginal origins.

Similarities between traditional and contemporary domiciliary behaviour do influence the way Aboriginal people on Cape Barren Island use dwellings. Participation in household activities such as preparing and eating meals is conducted in groups requiring the use of the kitchen, dining and living areas of the dwelling. A shortage of available space will affect this activity. Visitations by friends and relatives can cause household numbers to increase. Similarly, movement patterns of people during the mutton bird season cause some households to increase. This also has a bearing on the size of dwellings.

3.3.2 Particular contemporary Aboriginal domiciliary practices on Cape Barren Island

There are domiciliary practices that are maintained by the Aboriginal residents on Cape Barren Island that do not compare with traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour and are not common domestic Australian practices. These include:

- Storage of food and cutlery

The Aboriginal residents store most things on shelves or in cupboards with the doors open. They store kitchen utensils, cutlery and crockery on shelves or bench tops so that they are in full view.

- Kitchen appliances

The Aboriginal residents do not use microwave ovens to cook food. Instead, they are used as clocks in preference to battery operated clocks because they are more reliable. Freezers are shared by two or three Aboriginal households.

- Clothes drying

When residents do not have a wood fire burning, they dry their clothes by suspending them above the gas stove to dry. Some households with clothes dryers have them in the kitchen. Because of the heat they generate when in use they are regarded as desirable during the winter months.

- Visitor sleeping arrangements

Male visitors to a household sometimes chose to sleep in their cars if they desire privacy or there are people already sleeping in the living area of the guest household.

- Movement

People gain access to other dwellings at The Corner by cutting through neighbours' yards. Though the contemporary Aboriginal community is of the Anglican faith, certain superstitious beliefs related to traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal religion exist. The older Aboriginal members of the community maintain a fear of the dark and they are reluctant to move far from their houses during the night. This affects the level of visitations and restricts their movement.

- Privacy

Aboriginal residents maintain their privacy by restricting access to their dwellings by creating barriers to their houses across the track leading to their dwelling and by giving visual signals to residents.

- Visual communication

Aboriginal residents communicate to other residents that they are home and receiving visitors when their front door is open. When their doors are closed they are not at home or not receiving visitors.

Particular contemporary domiciliary behaviour does not influence the way residents use their dwellings to a large extent. It does however have a greater bearing on movement patterns, privacy and visual communication. These community patterns are different from those found in typical residential suburban areas in Australia. The pedestrian and vehicular movement patterns of residents on Cape Barren Island, conflict with the movement of people and cars found in the suburban model of community planning. However, pedestrian movement at night is restricted on the island due to lack of lighting. This situation is not common in residential suburbs elsewhere in Australia.

Visual communication and privacy are issues that the suburban form of community planning does not contend with. However, should the development of housing continue in the pattern already established, then the residents' movements will become restricted and their system of visual communication and privacy will be subject to modification.

References

- 4 An excerpt from an interview with an Aboriginal resident on Cape Barren Island. (source: C. Zidak 18/03/1995).
- 5 I had only spoken briefly to two people prior to meeting the rest of the community. Within two days of my arrival to the island, all the residents knew who I was and my reason for being there.

The purpose of this chapter is to determine upon which residential model the existing planning on Cape Barren Island was developed, and establish its appropriateness based upon the domiciliary behaviour of the contemporary Aboriginal residents examined in chapter three.

This chapter also provides general conclusions based upon the location, type and condition of existing dwellings occupied by the Aboriginal residents of Cape Barren Island. The method for collecting data contained within this chapter consists of the author's observations, interviews and questionnaires of the Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island. Post-occupancy evaluations conducted of Aboriginal dwellings (Appendix C) were based upon the visual observations of the site, site services, interior and exterior condition of dwellings and the testing of fixtures and fittings.

Questionnaires were submitted to the Aboriginal residents to obtain subjective views concerning their satisfaction with the dwelling they occupied (Appendix D). All of the Aboriginal residents living in government-provided dwellings allowed a post-occupancy evaluation and survey of their dwellings as well as participating in the questionnaire. Of the four Aboriginal owner-built dwellings located at The Corner, one Aboriginal resident refused to take part in the survey.

4.1 Housing on Cape Barren Island

4.1.1 Existing Housing

At present there are twenty one houses at The Corner on Cape Barren Island. These dwellings accommodate a population of approximately eighty people, seventy one of whom are of Aboriginal descent.

Government rental housing provides the largest means of accommodation for Aboriginal households with fifteen rental houses occupied by Aboriginal residents. There are four privately-owned houses occupied by Aboriginal people, all of which are owner-built.

4.1.2 Planning

The planning infrastructure and layout of dwellings on Cape Barren Island is based on the same suburban planning model used in cities across Australia.

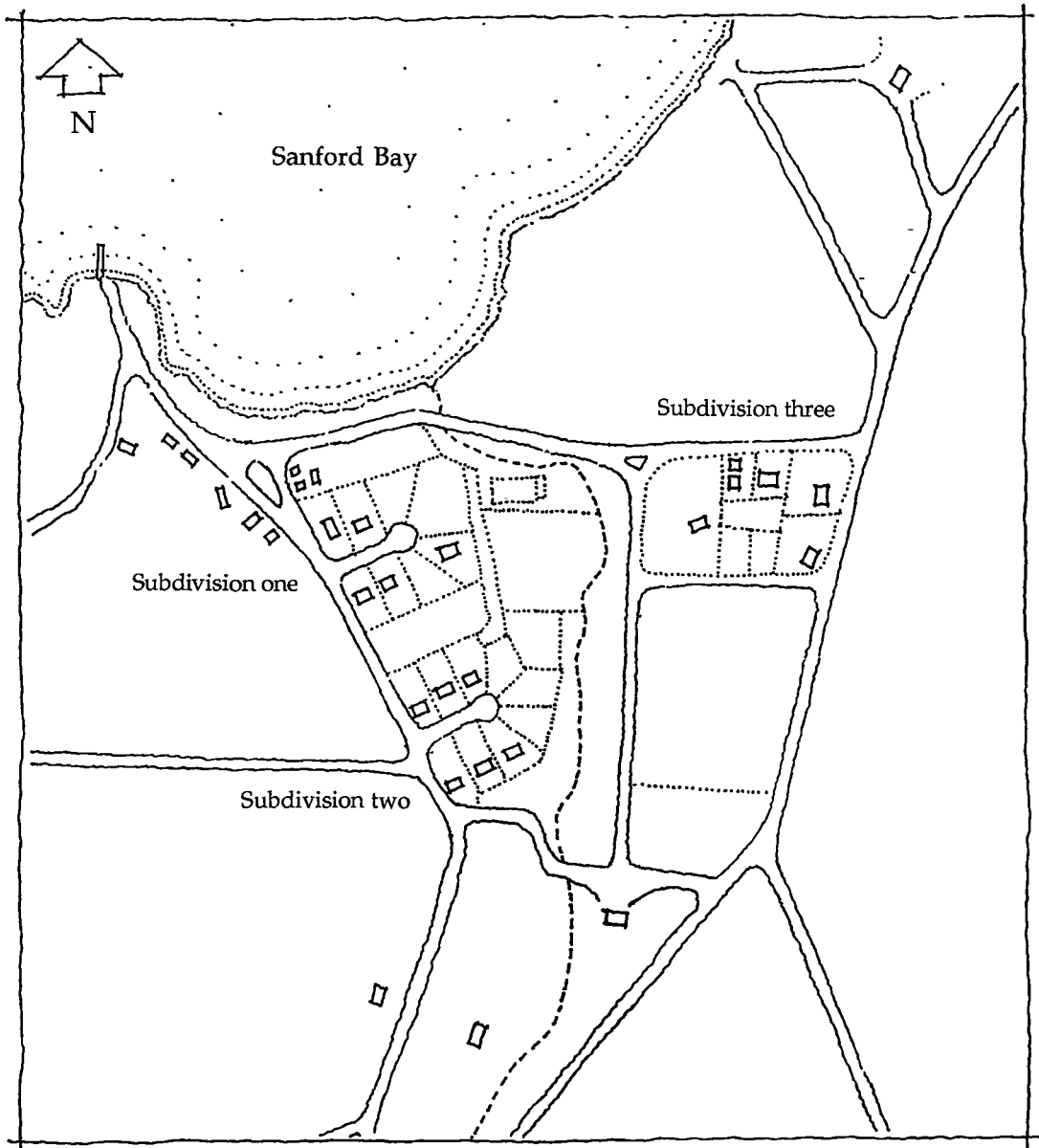
The criteria used in this suburban form of community planning stems from the early-1900s Australian notion of private ownership of one's dwelling situated on a plot of land, defining it from another by a physical barrier. The criteria for the design of these dwellings include: setbacks of walls from boundaries, specified minimum frontage and distance of windows from boundaries (Multiple Residential Policy Code 1973:03). This model has been criticised for creating and continuing the growth of large residential expanses causing a drain on resources (Mant 1995:11).

An important factor in the design of suburbs is the incorporation of the automobile. Criteria for suburban planning involve the separation of pedestrian and vehicular access; car parking; specified width of driveways; specified size of car spaces and provision of vehicle turning space (Multiple Residential Policy Code 1973:06). The car has enabled the expansion of the suburban planning model to accommodate increased population densities and has become an integral part of the design of suburbs in Australia today (Mant 1995:09)

The suburban style of residential planning on Cape Barren Island relies heavily upon the use of vehicles to facilitate movement around the community. However, few residents own vehicles. This suburban model is used mainly where there is a large population. Cape Barren Island has only a small number of residents.

There are a number of plots in each of the subdivisions that have not been built upon. This would suggest that further housing development on the island would continue in the same way as has been established.

The dwellings on Cape Barren Island are located in and around The Corner and consist of differing house designs (Appendix A). All government dwellings are located on three subdivisions that form the basis of the community's planning infrastructure.

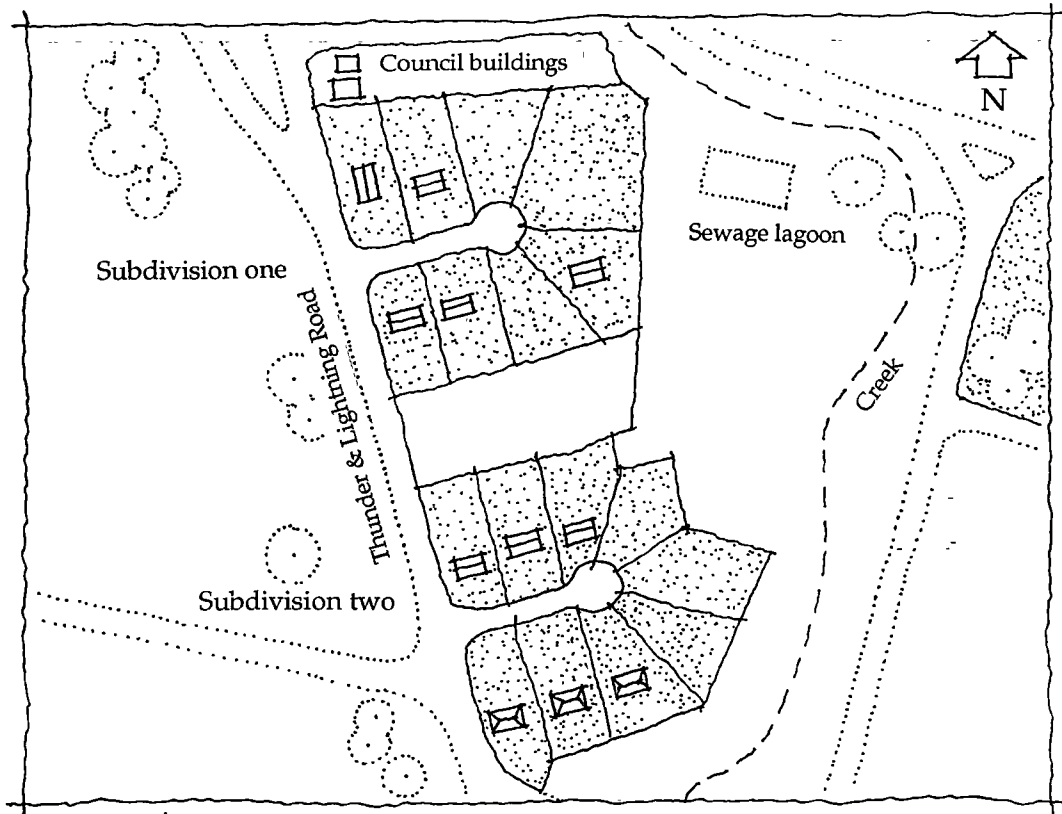


Map 4. The Corner - Existing Planning of dwellings on Cape Barren Island 24/03/95,
Scale 1: 3,000. (source: C Zidak, 1995)

The government- provided dwellings consist of one-and two-bedroom brick veneer units as well as single bedroom, steel frame, fibre cement duplex units. There are three-bedroom steel frame, fibre cement houses in addition to the four-bedroom brick veneer dwellings. All government dwellings occupied by Aboriginal residents are rented. Owner-built dwellings are situated on the periphery of the township. They are constructed primarily of fibre cement sheets and corrugated iron sheets fixed onto a timber frame construction. The design and construction of government and owner-built dwellings are discussed later in this chapter and examined in Appendix C.

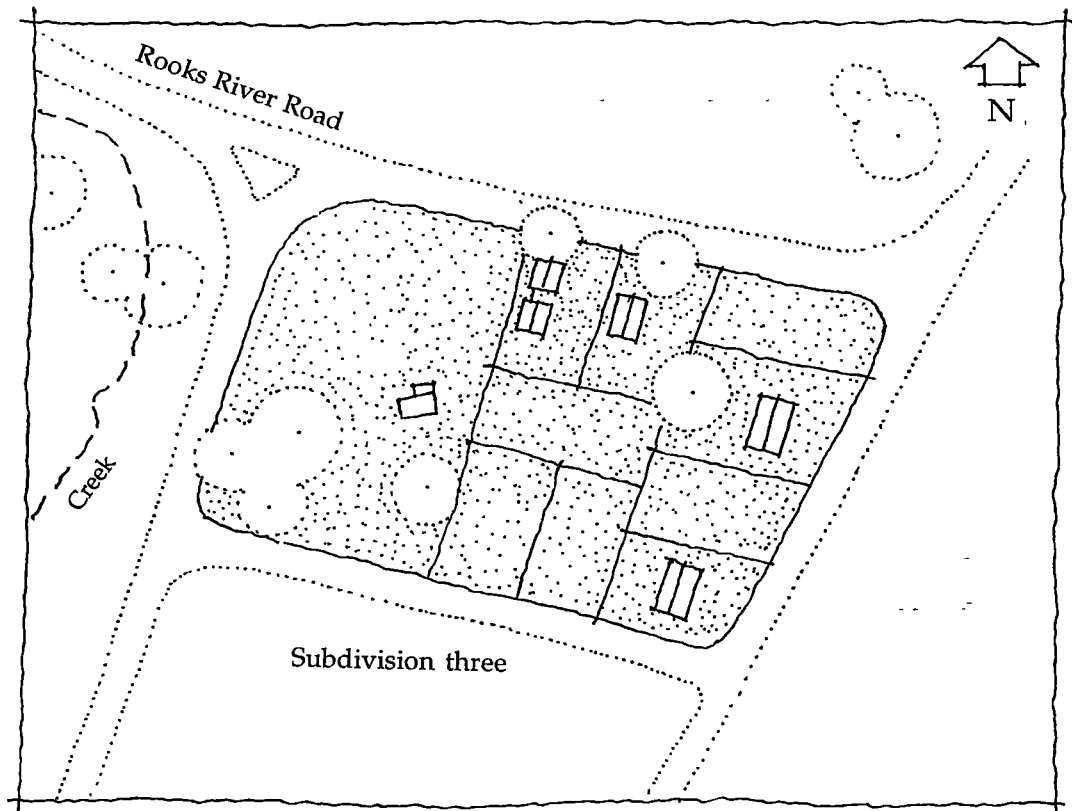
The one, two and three-bedroom dwellings at The Corner were constructed during the early to mid-1980s. These are arranged on two subdivisions. These subdivisions are in the form of two cul-de-sacs adjacent to Thunder and Lightning road. The first cul-de-sac is divided into eight plots, upon which five houses have been built. The second is divided into nine plots where six houses have been built. The cul-de-sacs themselves have gravel roads with no curbs, footpaths or street lights. Built from 1973 to 1975 and located on the second subdivision are three, four-bedroom single-skin brick houses on concrete slabs (Appendix C).

Other government-built houses are located on a third subdivision at the eastern end of The Corner. These houses were built in 1986. The subdivision is divided into eight plots with street access to each plot. Currently, there are five houses built on this subdivision. These consist of two semi-detached two-bedroom brick veneer units with hip roofs clad with colourbond sheets (Appendix C). Also on this subdivision are three 'Logan' home units built during the 1980s. These houses consist of three-bedroom brick veneer houses on concrete slab with steel roofs. This subdivision is similar to the other two in that the roads and driveways are gravel, with no footpaths or street lights.



Map 5. Cape Barren Island Reserve subdivisions number one and two 25/03/95
(source: C. Zidak, 1995)

All houses have water tanks as the water that is supplied to houses is from the two large dams and not adequate for continual human consumption. All of the houses are fitted with wood-burning heaters and gas-fuelled stoves. Each house has a front and rear yard and some have fences enclosing the house and yard.



Map 6. Cape Barren Island Reserve subdivision number three 26/03/95
(source: C. Zidak, 1995)

4.2 Condition of Government Dwellings

4.2.1 Internal Condition

A visual inspection of dwellings recorded that the internal condition of most government houses was of a high standard. Building elements such as walls and floors were found to be well-constructed and undamaged. However, four three-bedroom fibre cement government houses exhibited problems with leaking roofs causing some internal damage to the plasterboard ceilings and wall.

4.2.2 External Condition

The government three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings showed visible signs of deterioration. These dwellings employ a steel framing system clad with fibre cement sheets. Because of the sea air, oxidation of exposed steel reinforcing in the concrete slabs and untreated steel connections were rust affected. Other building elements affected were untreated steel window frames and exposed untreated steel-frame construction. The exteriors of three fibre cement dwellings were affected in subdivision one, while two dwellings in subdivision three were rust affected. Government houses using timber-framed construction with brick veneer exteriors proved more resistant to the sea air and most displayed no visible signs of deterioration that could be caused by the coastal environment.

4.3 User Groups

The Aboriginal population of Cape Barren Island have ages ranging from three to eighty-seven years. The dominant age group is between the age of twenty-eight to forty years. The children's ages range from three to twelve years.

4.3.1 Children

There are twelve children on Cape Barren Island, ten of whom are of school age.

Young children on the island have an ideal environment in which to live and play. Many of the hazards associated with city living such as heavy traffic, pollution and crime are not found on the island and there are many open spaces for children to play, facilitating easy parental supervision. School plays a major role in the children's development on the island with compulsory attendance five days a week from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.

4.3.2 Adolescents

There are two adolescents on the Island. This is the smallest group. Because the island has only primary school facilities, many older children must attend secondary schools and colleges at Launceston or Hobart, thus explaining this group's low representation in comparison to the total population. In addition, many teenagers prefer to spend time in Launceston in the company of those their own age and where more activities suited to teenagers are available.

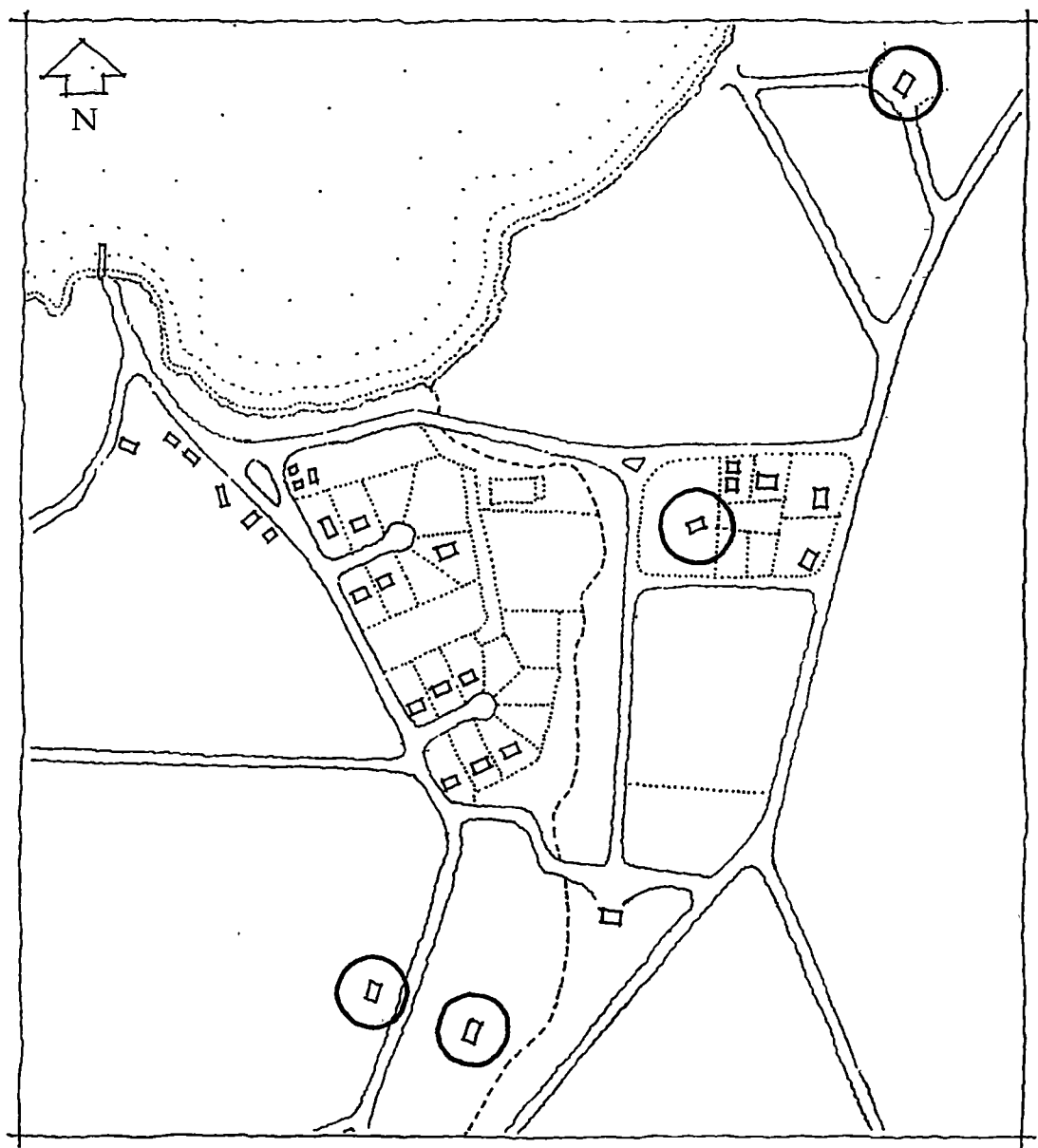
4.3.3 Adults and Elderly

The adult population on Cape Barren Island number fifty-seven. These people spend much of their time in the company of others. They spend their days doing work around the house such as cleaning, washing, house maintenance and preparing meals. They also spend a large part of their day visiting others and hunting and fishing. During the evening, people spend time together playing cards, talking, watching television and listening to music. Community events such as evening dinner dances and fund raisers are usually attended by most of the community except for those too old or frail.

4.4 Cape Barren Island Aboriginal Owner-Built Houses

There are four Aboriginal owner-built houses located at The Corner. Three of these dwellings are located on the edge of the township. All these dwellings predate government houses, some by as much as forty five years. The design and construction of Aboriginal owner-built dwellings was done by family members and friends. Materials used for external cladding may vary, but all the dwellings are of timber stud frame construction (Appendix C). Aboriginal owner-builders were restricted in their choice of materials because of the transportability and costs involved in bringing certain building products to the island.

This explains the absence of any owner-built brick houses and the frequent use of fibre cement sheets and corrugated steel sheeting used in the construction of many houses as these are light weight and cost less to transport to the island.



Map 7. The location of owner-built dwellings on Cape Barren Island 28/03/95
Scale 1:3,000 (source: C. Zidak 1996)

4.4.1 Condition of Owner-Built Dwellings

Aboriginal owner-built houses, though very old in most cases, are structurally sound with no visible signs of deterioration. Their design and construction may seem crude, but each house is tailored to suit the individuals' requirements which are deemed more important than aesthetic appeal. The interiors of owner-built dwellings showed no visible signs of damage. One of the owner-built dwellings located at subdivision three showed signs of deterioration (Appendix C). This dwelling was of timber frame construction and both the walls and roof were clad with corrugated steel sheeting. However, the only area showing signs of decay was the eastern wall of the house. This appeared older than the rest of the dwelling and showed obvious signs of oxidisation as a result of the sea air. Other owner-built dwellings were of timber frame construction clad with fibre cement sheets. These were unaffected.

4.5 Household Sizes and Composition

The average number of Aboriginal people living in government provided dwellings is four. The average number of residents in Aboriginal owner-built dwellings is one. Those dwellings with the greatest household numbers are located in subdivision two. All the dwellings located in this area are the four-bedroom brick-constructed type with an average household number of six people. Subdivision three has an average household size of four people. The most common dwelling type is the three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings. Located here are duplex single-bedroom units also. Subdivision one has an average of three people per dwelling. The most common housing type here is the three-bedroom fibre cement dwelling. There are also two double-bedroom brick constructed units in this area.

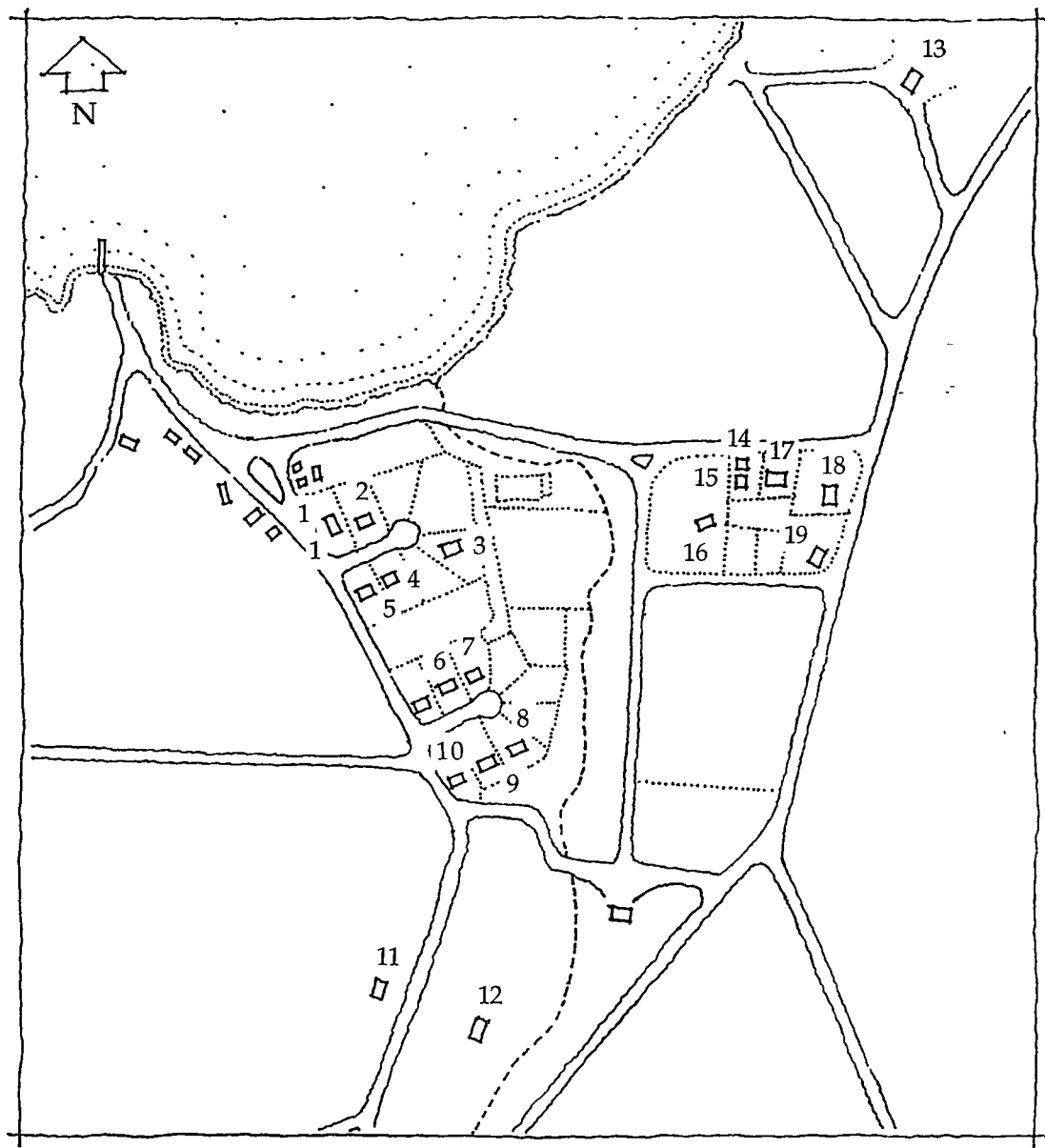


Figure 4. Aboriginal household size of dwellings located at The Corner - Cape Barren Island 21/06/96 (source C. Zidak 1996)

DWELLING No.	DWELLING TYPE	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER
1	1 B/R govt. duplex unit	1
1	1 B/R govt. duplex unit	2
2	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	4
3	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	4
4	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	6
5	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	4
6	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	7
7	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	6
8	4 B/R govt. brick	1
9	4 B/R govt. brick	6
10	4 B/R govt. brick	5
11	1 B/R own-bl't. fibre cement	1
12	3 B/R own-bl't. fibre cement	3
13	2 B/R own-bl't. fibre cement	1
14	2 B/R govt. brick unit	2
15	2 B/R govt. brick unit	1
16	1 B/R own-bl't. fibre cement	1
17	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	5
18	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	6
19	3 B/R govt. fibre cement	5

Table 1. Aboriginal household size of dwellings located at The Corner - Cape Barren Island 21/06/96. (source: C. Zidak 1996)

Household compositions include single males, couples, couples with children, and single parent families. During the day, friends and relatives may visit and increase the household number. Relatives and friends may visit and stay overnight or for longer periods. During their stay, responsibilities such as cooking, cleaning and expenses are all shared until the visit has ended.

4.6 Dwelling Areas

4.6.1 Kitchen

4.6.1.1 Kitchen Layout

There are three versions of the kitchen/living arrangement within government houses. Four dwellings have the kitchen combined with the dining and living area (Type A). Seven dwellings have the kitchen and dining area adjacent to the living area (Type B). Five houses have the combined kitchen and dining area separated from the living area by a partition wall (Type C).

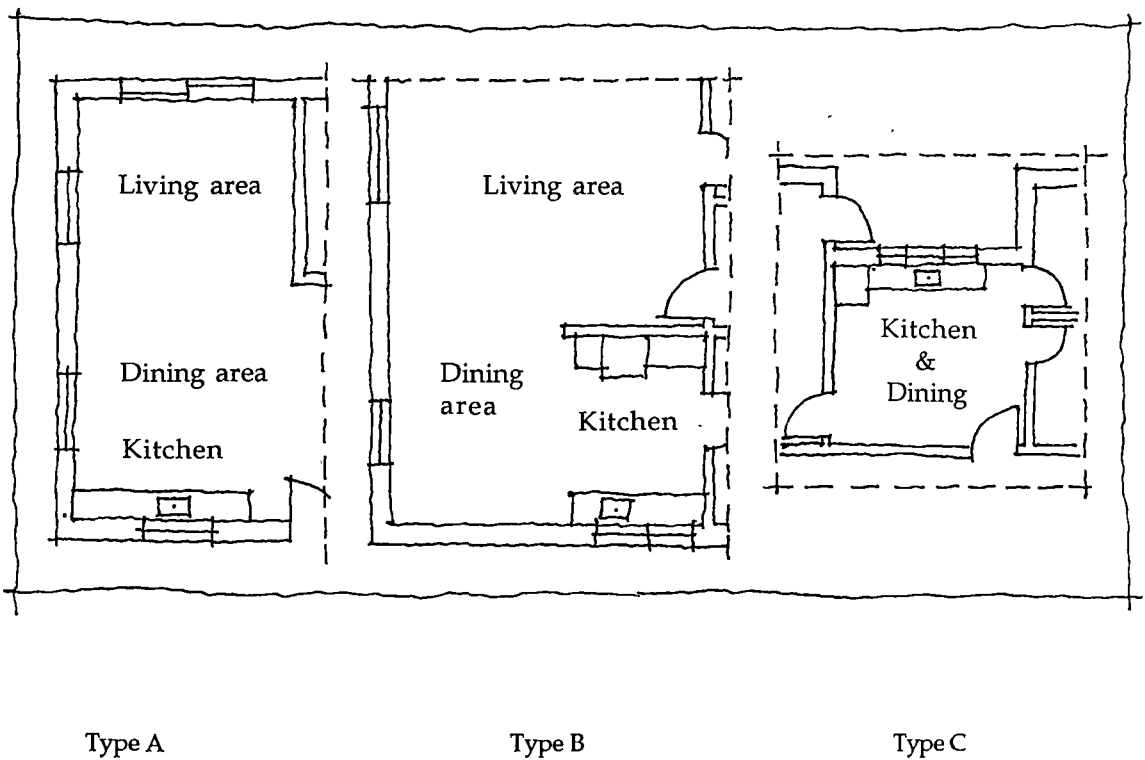


Figure 5. Kitchen layout of government houses.
(source: C.Zidak, 02/04/1995)

In three of the four owner-built houses surveyed, the kitchen was combined with the dining area. The kitchen/dining area of one owner-built house was adjacent to the living area which was separated by a wall with door entering into the living room. One dwelling had the combined kitchen/dining area combined with the living area. The other house had the combined kitchen/dining area and living area partly separated by partition wall.

4.6.1.2 Kitchen Size and Work Area

Government dwellings have on average two linear metres of usable bench space within the kitchen area compared with nearly three linear metres of bench space available in Aboriginal owner-built houses.

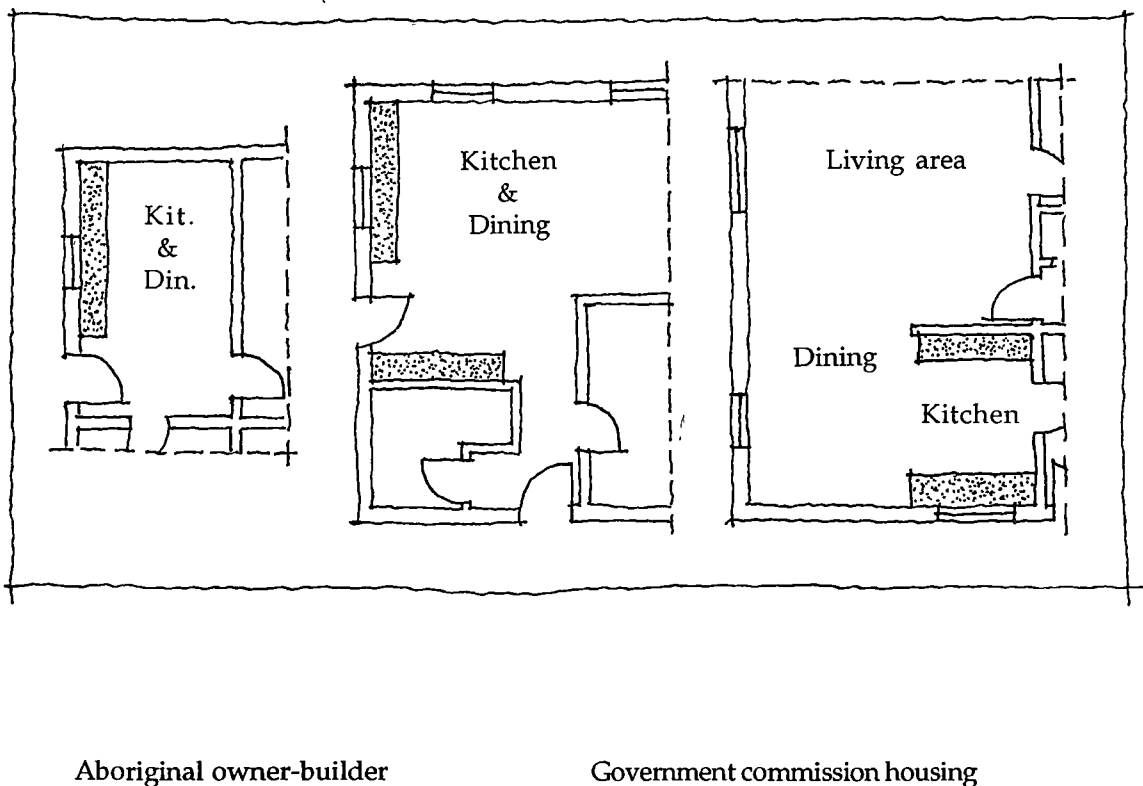


Figure 6. Kitchen bench locations
(source: C. Zidak, 02/04/1995)

Work areas in Aboriginal owner-built houses are located underneath a window and along one length of wall only. Government houses have only one-third of kitchens arranged in this way. Aboriginal residents occupying dwellings with this kitchen layout commented on the lack of adequate natural light entering the kitchen work area. This made it necessary to use artificial lighting during daylight hours. Government houses with 'split' kitchen arrangements represent two-thirds of all houses and have kitchen partitions dividing the kitchen and dining areas. The 'split' kitchen layouts in government houses have their work area divided by an entry into the kitchen area. The Aboriginal residents of these houses stated that these entries serve as the major traffic route for individuals entering the house and as a means of entry into the living room of most houses. This often causes problems during the preparation of meals as this area becomes busy and difficult to work in.

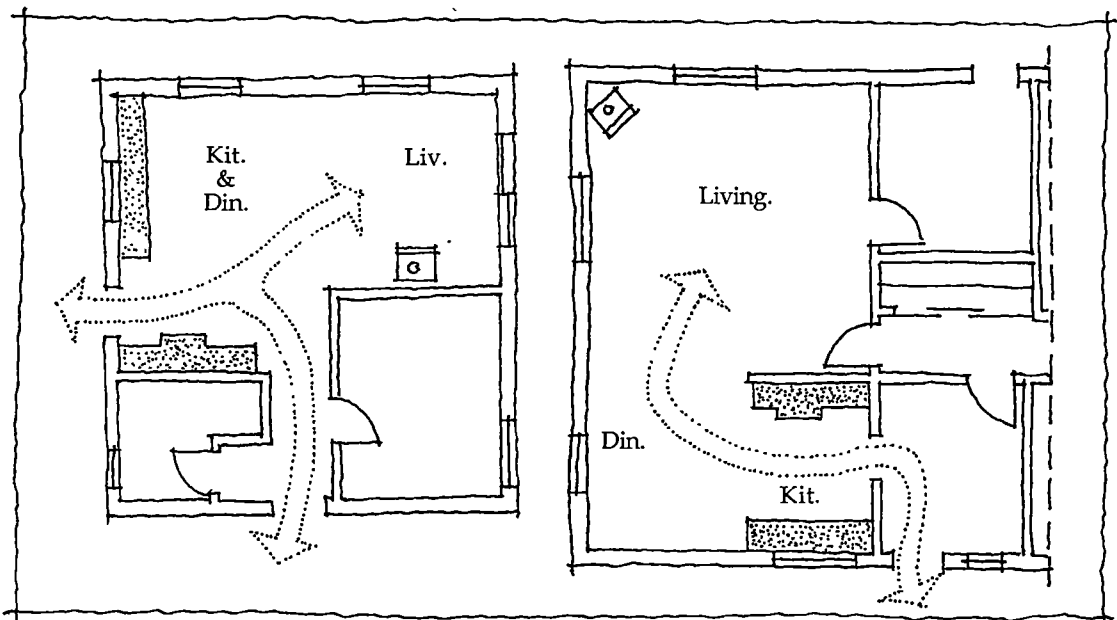


Figure 7. Poor design of work bench layout with 'split' kitchen arrangement as personal traffic flow interrupts kitchen activity. (source: C. Zidak, 02/04/1995)

4.6.1.3 Kitchen Condition

The facilities of kitchens in government houses were checked and found to be fully operational. Gas stoves were the most frequently used item in kitchens with the four stove burners most used for cooking. These were operational in all except two of the government houses.

Those that did not perform adequately were found to be clogged with cooking grease and oil but not broken. Grillers were also used and all were in working order. Ovens received the least use and some had never been used. Kitchen sinks were in good condition as were most taps. All power points were operational as were all light switches in the kitchen. Only in two government houses were there problems associated with kitchen exhaust fans due to the excessive build up of grime and dust in the inlet section of the exhaust fan. The kitchens in Aboriginal owner-built houses were found to have all facilities fully functioning. However, in most owner-built houses facilities available were basic.

An Aboriginal owner-built house constructed in 1927 had only cold running water and no electricity. Kerosene lamps were used to provide light and a gas stove was used to cook food and boil water. Another owner-built house constructed in 1959 had electricity and a gas stove installed. A wood burning stove was located in the kitchen also. It was used to cook meals and boil water while providing the kitchen/dining area with warmth. During the summer months the gas stove was used for cooking. The house had cold running water only in the kitchen. This was supplied from a private rainwater storage tank. Dam water was not connected through to the kitchen but into the laundry where the washing of dishes was carried out. The kitchen was supplied with one dual power point which was operational.

The power point supplied electricity to a small colour television in the kitchen and an electric kettle. Lighting of the kitchen was provided by one 100-watt electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling. An Aboriginal owner-built dwelling constructed in 1961 had the kitchen, dining and living areas combined in an open plan arrangement. The kitchen had only cold running water. This was supplied from a private rainwater storage tank located at the side of the dwelling. The only appliances in the kitchen were a gas stove and small refrigerator connected to a dual power-point. Storage space for provisions is located under the sink on shelves. Two electric lights suspended from the ceiling provide light for the kitchen and living areas. Located in the kitchen is a wood burning heater which is used to boil water and on occasion cook food.

4.6.2 Dining Area

All of the government-provided dwellings have the dining area and kitchen combined. Except for the five brick-constructed houses in subdivision two, the kitchen/dining areas are also combined with the living area. It was recorded that almost all of the households that took part in the occupant satisfaction questionnaire agreed that the size of existing dining areas was adequate. All the dwellings recorded having ample natural lighting in this area. All of the owner-built dwellings had the kitchen and dining area combined. Only one of these dwellings had the living area incorporated into kitchen/dining area.

The two-bedroom fibre cement dwelling had problems allowing natural light to enter the kitchen/dining area. None of the owner-built dwellings recorded any problems with heating this area during winter. Residents of the three-bedroom fibre cement-constructed dwellings considered there to be ample space in the dining room. The same was recorded for the two-bedroom brick veneer units and the single-bedroom fibre cement-constructed unit.

The design of each of these dwellings incorporates the kitchen, dining and living areas into an open plan arrangement. All except one of the four-bedroom brick constructed dwellings were recorded as having cramped dining areas. This was particularly so when having visitors and preparing the evening meal. All of these dwellings have the kitchen and dining area combined but separated from the living area. The owner-built houses recorded the dining area as being adequate in size. Two of the three owner-built houses had the combined kitchen and dining area separated from the living room.

4.6.3 Living Area

Residents living in all but the four-bedroom brick-constructed government houses in subdivision two were pleased with the size of the living area. This dwelling type has the living room separated from the kitchen and dining area. The other government dwelling types have the kitchen, dining and living areas incorporated into an open plan. The three-bedroom fibre cement house located in subdivision one recorded the combined living and dining area as one of the coldest areas of the house during winter. The duplex single-bedroom fibre cement-constructed units located in subdivision one recorded one unit as having the combined kitchen, dining and living area and bedroom as the coldest area of the dwelling. The fixtures and fittings located in all but one government dwelling living area were fully operational and in good condition. A three-bedroom fibre cement dwelling had one of the two socket power outlets functioning incorrectly. Sources plugged into the socket would turn on and off erratically.

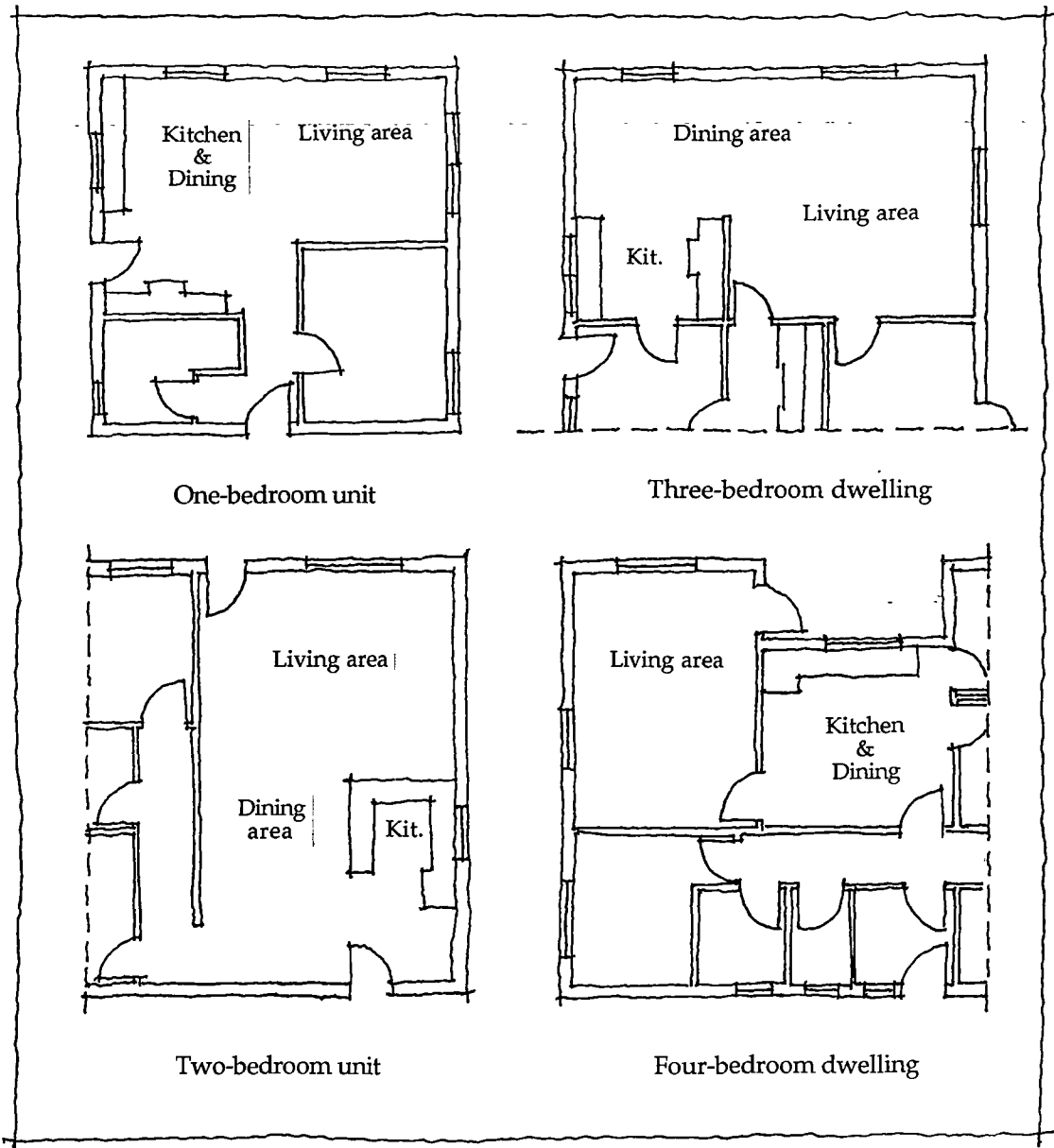


Figure 8. Comparisons of living area arrangement of government dwellings.

(source: C. Zidak, 27/06/1996)

4.6.4 Bedrooms

All the Aboriginal residents of government-provided dwellings agreed that there were enough bedrooms. However, during visitations from friends and relatives, these areas may accommodate as many as five or six people per room. When numbers increase further, visitors sleep in the living room.

All the residents agreed that storage space, in particular shelf space, was required in bedrooms in addition to built-in wardrobes. All electrical fixtures in the bedrooms of government and owner-built dwellings were fully operational.

Residents of owner-built houses did not point out any dissatisfaction with their bedrooms regarding size or overcrowding caused by visitors. This would indicate that the level of visitation of friends and family for long periods occurs less frequently than in government dwellings because of the small size of these houses. This point correlates with a study conducted by Ross (1987:111). The study showed that a group of Aboriginal people in Halls Creek, Western Australia, preferred living in dwellings that could only accommodate their immediate family and close kinsfolk in an effort to reduce crowding.

4.6.5 Bathrooms

All of the Aboriginal households that took part in the questionnaire agreed that the size of the bathroom was adequate. However, most residents living in the three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings and the four-bedroom brick-constructed houses required more storage space in the bathroom. Ventilation and natural light were adequate. Almost all the residents found the bathroom to be one of the coldest areas of the house during winter. Two of the three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings located in subdivision three recorded the bathroom and toilet as being uncomfortably hot areas of the house during summer.

Two of these dwellings also had problems with leaking pipes underneath the bathroom wash basin. Only one of the owner-built houses had a bathroom included as part of the design of the dwelling. This bathroom combined the toilet and laundry and contained a shower and wash basin. The second owner-built house had the combined bathroom and toilet located away from the house. The bathroom contained a wash basin and shower.

4.6.6 Toilets

Government-provided houses for the Aboriginal residents have the toilet located within the dwelling. Twelve of the government dwellings located at The Corner have separate bathroom and toilet. These dwelling types are the four-bedroom brick-constructed dwellings and the three-bedroom fibre cement-constructed dwellings. All of the toilets in government houses were fully functional.

Two of the three owner-built dwellings examined had the toilet connected to the house. Access to the toilet of one of these houses was from within the dwelling. This house also had the bathroom and toilet combined. The other house allowed only external access to the toilet. The third owner-built dwelling had the toilet and bathroom located away from the house. Two of the three toilets were flush toilets and connected to the township's sewer main. The other toilet was a flush septic system. All of the toilets in each of the owner-built dwellings were fully operational. Two of the three toilets had electric lighting.

The Aboriginal occupants of government dwellings strongly agreed that the design of the house should incorporate the toilet within it and that the toilet and bathroom be separate. Many residents stated that the toilets were too cold in winter and too hot during the summer months. Residents of owner-built houses stated that toilets should be within houses. They said that it caused too much inconvenience and caused mud and dirt to be carried into the house. Residents of owner-built dwellings also stated that the use of toilets located away from the house became an unpleasant experience during the winter months.

4.6.7 Utility Area

Government-provided dwellings had the laundry located within the dwelling. One of the three owner-built dwellings had the laundry area located away from the house. The remainder had the laundry incorporated into the dwelling. Six of the government dwellings had problems with mould upon the walls of laundry areas. These areas were always cold and received little sunlight.

The Aboriginal occupants of government houses agreed that the size of the laundry area was adequate. However, there was a need for more bench space and natural light. It was recorded that it took a long time for the hot water in the laundry to heat up.

Residents of owner-built dwellings recorded that the laundry size suited their needs. There was adequate natural light to perform tasks. There were no problems with delayed water heating. Only one of the owner-built dwellings had the laundry combined with the house. The other dwellings had the laundry located away from the house, while one dwelling did not have a laundry.

4.7 Heating

All government and Aboriginal owner-built dwellings had wood burning heaters installed. In all the government dwellings the heater was located in the living room or the combined living and dining areas. In three of the four Aboriginal owner-built dwellings the heater was located in the kitchen area. The other Aboriginal owner-built house had the heater installed in the living area, separated from the kitchen by a partition wall.

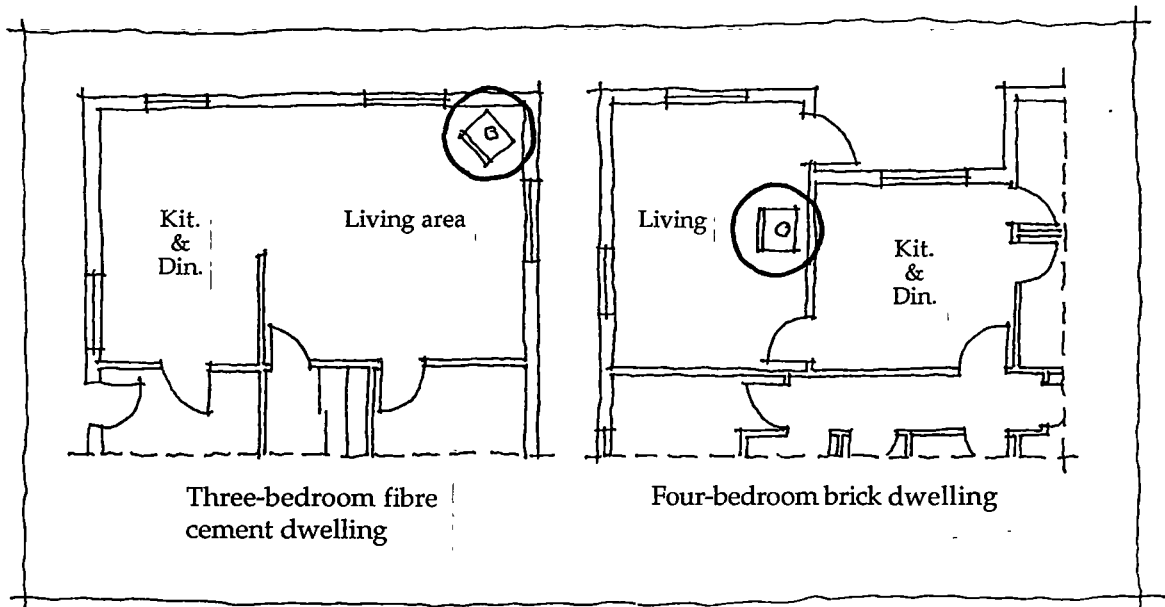


Figure 9. Location of wood heaters in government-provided dwellings.

(source: C. Zidak, 25/06/1996)

It was found that the brick-constructed government houses took approximately fifteen to twenty minutes to heat the living and/or dining area. The fibre cement-constructed dwellings took approximately thirty to forty minutes to heat the combined living and dining area. The Aboriginal owner-built dwellings took on average of ten minutes to heat the kitchen area which was separated from the living area. Three of the four owner-built dwellings were of this design. Only one owner-built dwelling had the kitchen and dining area combined. This house was clad with corrugated iron and had no insulation. It took approximately thirty minutes to heat the area.

During winter the coldest areas of the two bedroom brick-constructed government dwellings in subdivision three were the toilet, bathroom, bedroom one and bedroom two. During winter the coldest areas of the four bedroom brick-constructed government dwellings in subdivision two were the kitchen and dining area, toilet, bathroom, bedroom one and bedroom two. The coldest areas of the three bedroom fibre cement houses in subdivision one were the kitchen, bathroom and bedroom one. Two of the fibre cement dwellings located here had no roof insulation installed.

DWELLING TYPE	ROOM							
	B/R 1	B/R 2	B/R 3	Kit.	Din.	Bath.	Toilet	Lndry.
2 B/R brick	✓	✓				✓	✓	
4 B/R brick	✓	✓		✓		✓		
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision one)	✓			✓		✓		
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision three)	✓	✓	✓					
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision three)			✓			✓		✓
1 B/R Unit	✓					✓		
1 B/R Unit	✓			✓	✓			

Table 2. The coldest recorded areas of the government dwellings.

(source: C. Zidak, 22/06/1996)

Two of the three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings located in subdivision three recorded the bedrooms as being the coldest areas of the house during winter. The other recorded bedroom three, laundry and bathroom as the coldest areas. The duplex single bedroom fibre cement-constructed units located in subdivision one recorded one unit as having the bedroom and bathroom as the coldest areas, while the other unit recorded the combined kitchen, dining area and bedroom as the coldest area of the dwelling.

The brick-constructed dwellings were recorded as being the coolest of all government-provided houses during the summer months. The four-bedroom dwellings of this construction recorded the best thermal performance in maintaining a comfortable internal temperature during summer. The three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings located in subdivision one recorded poor thermal performance during summer. The most uncomfortably warm areas of the house were the living, kitchen and dining areas.

The same dwelling type located in subdivision one recorded the kitchen, bathroom, toilet and bedroom three as the most uncomfortable areas during summer. Two of the three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings located in subdivision three recorded the combined kitchen and dining area, laundry, bathroom, toilet and bedroom three as the hottest areas of the house during summer. The third dwelling of the same type located in this subdivision recorded the combined living and dining area and kitchen as the hottest areas of the dwelling during summer. The duplex single bedroom fibre cement-constructed units recorded one unit as having the combined living, kitchen and dining area as the hottest areas, while the other unit recorded the bedroom as the hottest area of the dwelling.

DWELLING TYPE	ROOM								
	B/R 1	B/R 2	B/R 3	Kit.	Din.	Liv.	Bath.	Toilet	Lndry.
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision one)				✓	✓	✓			
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision one)			✓	✓			✓	✓	
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision three)			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision three)			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
3 B/R Fibre Cement (subdivision three)				✓	✓	✓			
1 B/R Unit				✓	✓	✓			
1 B/R Unit	✓								

Table 3. The warmest recorded areas of the government dwellings.
(source: C. Zidak, 19/03/1996)

4.8 Conclusions

4.8.1 The suburban form of community planning and its appropriateness for the Aboriginal residents of Cape Barren Island

The development of most of the housing on Cape Barren Island is of the suburban form of community planning. It has stemmed from the predetermined criteria of boundary lines, housing set-backs and vehicle access associated with western suburban planning.

The suburban planning model on Cape Barren Island is designed in conjunction with vehicular transportation. The community is laid out over a large area, placing emphasis upon the need for cars to facilitate movement around The Corner. However, few of the residents own vehicles.

The continuation of traditional Aboriginal migration patterns around the Furneaux Islands and the daily movement patterns of the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island indicate that movement of residents is primarily pedestrian based. However, the existing layout of the community does not address this continued traditional practice and fails to facilitate pedestrian movement around The Corner. This contributes to the isolation of people, in particular, older residents of the community who are not able to walk long distances to visit other people. The large area that the layout of the community covers would suggest a large population. This is not the case as the number of residents on the island is small.

The inherent characteristics of the natural environment or an investigation of the behaviour and practices of the Aboriginal people were not examined in determining the appropriateness of the planning of the existing community of Cape Barren Island. The location of the township had been chosen primarily because of its flat site. This easily accommodates the suburban form of community planning as this limits the amount of preparation of the site and reduces infrastructure costs. However, the site of the township could have been more appropriately located in an area away from prevailing winds which greatly affect The Corner.

The decision for this suburban planning model is based upon its application elsewhere in Australia. It is a model that Councils and town planning authorities are familiar with and one that still forms the basis for planning new suburbs in Australia. One may conclude that if this model has been deemed unsatisfactory for Australian communities then it too would be an inappropriate choice for the community of Cape Barren Island where there exist a contemporary, though different cultural group of people with particular domiciliary characteristics.

4.8.2 General Conclusions

Most maintenance problems occurred with the government-built three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings. This included the exposure of steel reinforcing in concrete slabs which had become rust affected as a result of the coastal environment. With no other explanation for the degradation of the slab, this would suggest that poor workmanship was responsible for the failure of the concrete slab. Steel window frames of some of these dwellings were also rust affected. This would suggest that untreated steel building components are inappropriate for such a coastal environment.

Government and owner-built dwellings employing timber frame construction with brick veneer or fibre cement cladding showed no visible signs of damage caused by the sea air. This indicates that timber frame-constructed dwellings with timber or treated steel cladding would be appropriate construction choices when building dwellings at The Corner.

The highest concentration of household numbers are in those houses located at the centre of The Corner and closest to the general store. This would be as a result of the four-bedroom brick dwellings in this area, increasing on average the household size of these houses.

The 'split' kitchen arrangement of government dwellings had an entry dividing the work areas. Access to the living area of these dwelling types was generally by entry from the kitchen as it faced the street. This caused disruption to the preparation and cooking of meals in this area. This suggests that dwellings with this type of kitchen configuration would perform better if the dwellings were oriented differently making the living area the main entrance of the house.

All of the government-provided dwellings have the dining area and kitchen combined. Except for the five brick block constructed houses in subdivision two, the kitchen/dining areas are also combined with the living area. There is a correlation between the division of the kitchen/dining area and the living area of these dwellings and the fact that the kitchen/dining area is the coldest area of this dwelling type. Because the heater is located in the living room with a separating wall between the kitchen/dining area, this space becomes difficult to heat during winter. A design incorporating the kitchen, dining and living areas in an open plan arrangement would distribute heat throughout the space making it more comfortable during winter.

Residents living in government dwellings that have the kitchen, dining and living areas combined into an open plan were satisfied with the size of the living area. Residents who had these areas separated by walls indicated that these areas were too small. When measured, the living areas in both cases were approximately the same in area. This suggests that the living area combined with the kitchen and dining areas is more desirable for the social interaction of Aboriginal residents.

The occupants of owner-built dwelling reported that they experienced no difficulties with overcrowding caused by visitors. This would indicate that small houses decrease the frequency of visitations for long periods. The location of owner-built dwellings may also be a factor in the decreased level of visitation. Most of the owner-built dwellings are located on the outskirts of The Corner. The distance of these dwellings away from the township coupled with long periods of inclement weather reduce visitations by other residents.

A three-bedroom fibre cement house located in subdivision one recorded the combined living and dining area as one of the coldest areas of the house during winter. Almost no winter sun penetration of the dwelling occurred. The same was recorded of duplex single bedroom fibre cement-constructed units located in subdivision one. One unit recorded the combined kitchen, dining and living area and bedroom as the coldest area of the dwelling. These examples emphasise the need for careful orientation of dwellings to benefit from passive solar heating.

Some building materials have not performed well under the environmental conditions of the coast. Poor workmanship has contributed to the failure of some dwellings. Inappropriate orientation of dwellings has limited the opportunity of passive solar heating during winter and has caused a number of dwellings to overheat in summer. Generally, the government-provided dwellings perform adequately, providing acceptable shelter and amenities for the Aboriginal residents. However, the design of some dwellings, in particular, the size and separation of some areas of the dwelling impede domiciliary activities that are conducted in groups. With some minor changes to the arrangement of spaces of some dwellings into an open plan, many existing dwellings that do not satisfy residents could be successfully modified to suit their needs.

This chapter outlines the thesis findings in determining whether the existing government-provided housing on Cape Barren Island is appropriate in facilitating the lifestyle of the contemporary Aboriginal community.

This chapter suggests improvements to existing Aboriginal dwellings as well as recommendations for future dwelling design and planning of houses, facilities and services at The Corner.

The design recommendations are based on:

- the similarities between traditional and contemporary domiciliary behaviour, and particular domiciliary practices that influence the use of dwellings and contribute to the patterns of domiciliary behaviour of the contemporary Aboriginal community as examined in chapter three.
- the appropriateness of the suburban residential model used on the island and the findings and general conclusions of facilities and services as described in chapter four.

5.1 Residential Planning

The planning of dwellings on Cape Barren Island is based on the residential suburban form of community planning widely used throughout Australia. All government-provided dwellings for the Aboriginal residents are located within this suburban planning model. All except one of the owner-built dwellings are located on the outskirts of The Corner. This would suggest that residents of owner-built dwellings chose to live further away from one another than is the case with the planning of government dwellings.

This indicates that the traditional practice established in the early years of settlement where residents lived further apart and visited one another still influences contemporary Aboriginal settlement patterns.

5.1.1 The Community Focus - General Store

The general store is visited daily by most of the residents on the island. During the warmer months, once the Aboriginal residents had collected their mail or supplies, they would sit on make-shift wooden seats that they had constructed at the store and talk to one another. The action taken by the residents in establishing the seats indicates the importance of the store as a meeting place. Because of this I recommend that there should be permanently established tables and seats at the general store (Fig. 10), lighting of general store (Fig. 11) and public pit toilets located near the general store (Fig. 12). The seats are located along the northern side of the store so they have uninterrupted views of the township. This indicates that the residents place importance upon the ability to survey their immediate surroundings. I recommend therefore that the general store and post office remain an integral part of community planning and become the focus for any further development at The Corner (Fig. 13).

Figure 10.

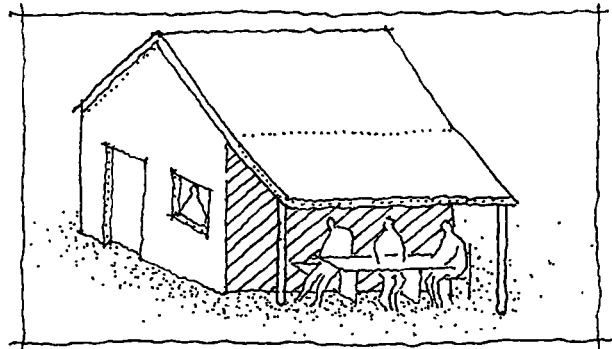


Figure 11.

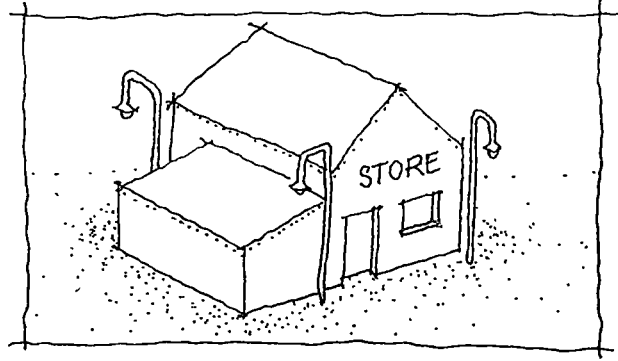


Figure 12

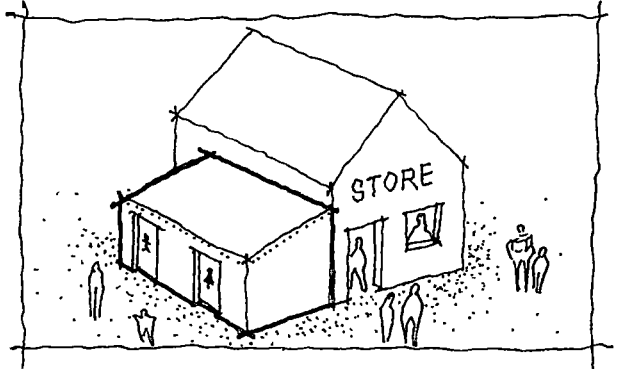
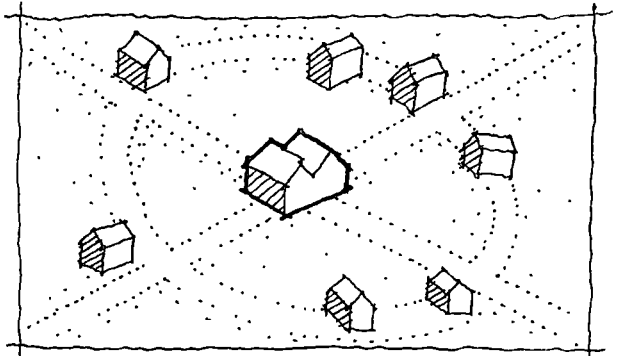


Figure 13.



5.1.2 Movement

The suburban form of planning used on the island was based upon the ability to accommodate high population densities and designed in conjunction with vehicular travel. The choice for the application of this suburban model would suggest that the community of Cape Barren Island is large and that each household owns a vehicle. This is not the case. Many people on the island do not own vehicles and must walk to the store and when visiting other residents.

Walking distances of 600 - 800 metres are not uncommon for many residents. This proves extremely difficult for many older members of the community who wish to visit other residents or go to the store as some are frail and not physically mobile. As a result they may become detached from the events of the community. I recommend that further development on the island and planning of dwellings should be located within walking distance of the focal point of the community (Fig. 14). I recommend also the provision of benches and covered areas along paths to serve as rest areas and informal meeting areas for residents while walking to and from their destination (Fig. 15).

Figure 14.

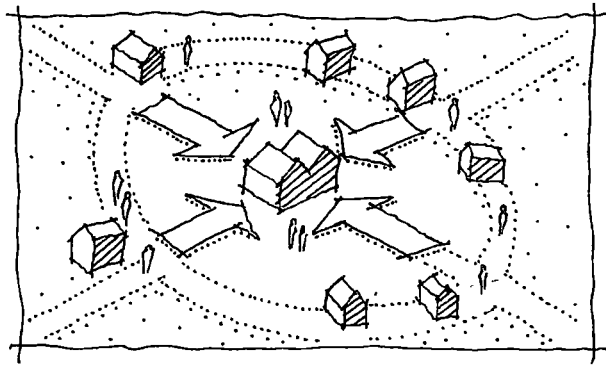
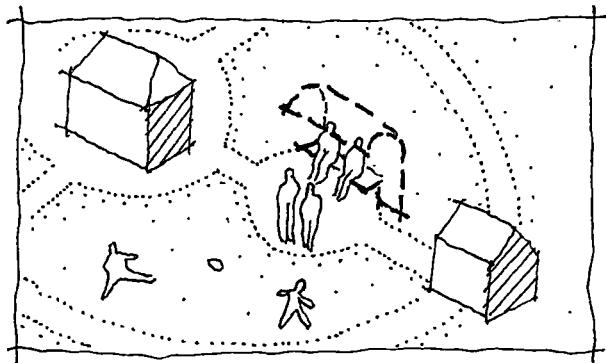


Figure 15.



5.1.2.1 Roads

The existing dirt roads in and around The Corner are generally accessible. However, rain and flooding have erosive effects causing deep pot holes on some stretches of road. The Thunder and Lightning Road from the airstrip to The Corner and from the jetty to The Corner are used often for the delivery of supplies to the general store.

I recommend that the main road at The Corner and the stretch of Thunder and Lightning Road from the air field to The Corner should be upgraded (Fig. 16). Few residents own vehicles. Those who do restrict their vehicular travel to the township. People generally drive through open paddock areas and neighbours yards to travel from place to place. However, this practice causes disturbance to residents at night. I suggest that cars should be restricted to major vehicle routes during the evening to minimise disturbance to residents. For example, Thunder and Lightning Road and Sanford Bay Road to minimise disruption to residents (Fig. 17).

Figure 16.

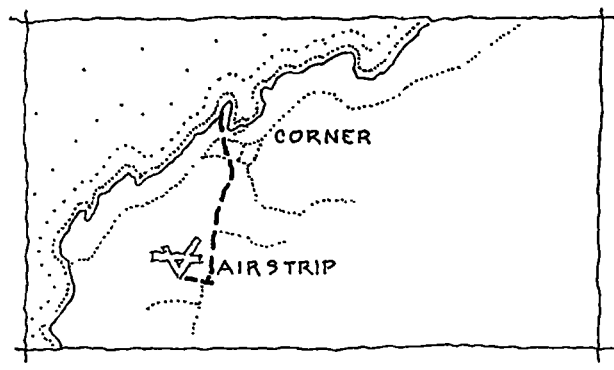
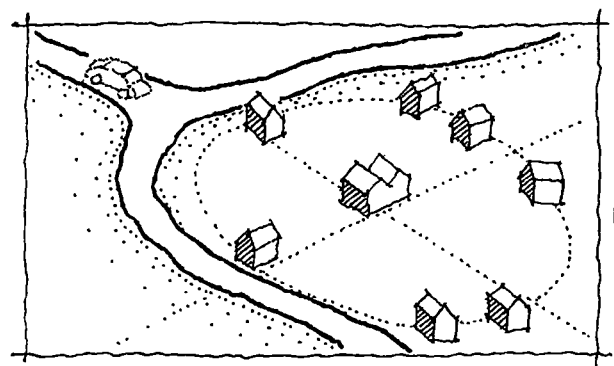


Figure 17.



5.1.2.2 Paths

Movement of the Aboriginal residents is by a number of interconnecting tracks that crisscross The Corner. People gain access to dwellings by cutting through neighbouring yards. Paths are clearly visible where grass has been worn away by constant use. There are few fences separating neighbouring houses, making travel of this nature easy. I recommend that the most travelled paths should be recognised and given priority for upgrading (Fig. 18).

However, paths should only be permanently constructed once 'guide' paths have been established by the residents (Fig. 19). During the wet winter months, travel along the dirt paths becomes less frequent, especially by older residents. This implies that the poor condition of the paths during winter makes travel difficult. This being the case, it also follows that decreased visitations can cause some residents to become isolated. I therefore recommend that paths should be paved to facilitate easy water run-off and to prevent slippery conditions, which will enable movement of residents during periods of inclement weather (Fig. 20).

Figure 18.

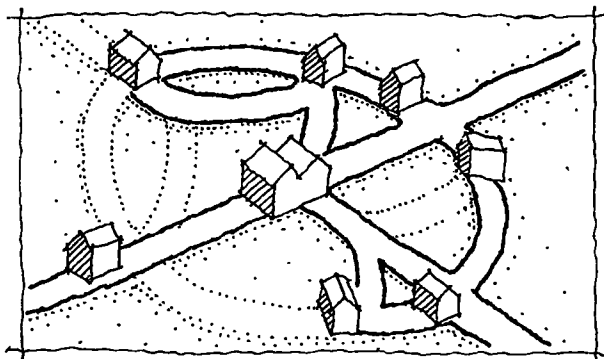


Figure 19.

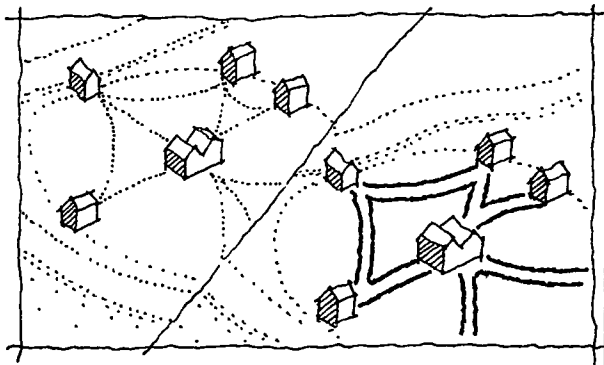
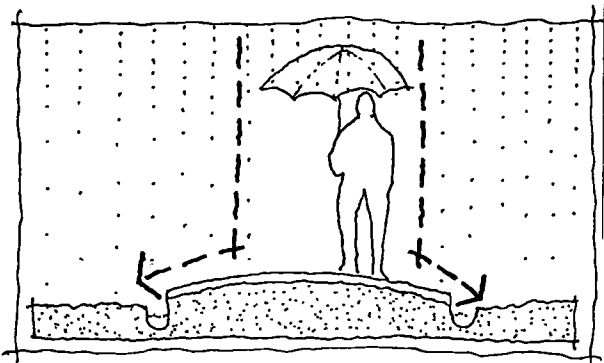


Figure 20.



5.1.3 Vision

By observing visual clues around a resident's house from their own dwelling it can be determined whether a person is at home and if that person wishes to remain undisturbed or if they are receiving visitors. This indicates that the ability for Aboriginal residents to view their immediate surroundings is important in establishing the condition of their environment and plays an important part in the communication between residents. I recommend that residents should be able to see uninterrupted views of general meeting areas from their houses to observe activity within their community (Fig. 21). I recommend also that dwellings should be orientated in such a way as to enable community members to easily view other houses to establish whether a resident is at home and/or receiving visitors (Fig. 22).

Figure 21.

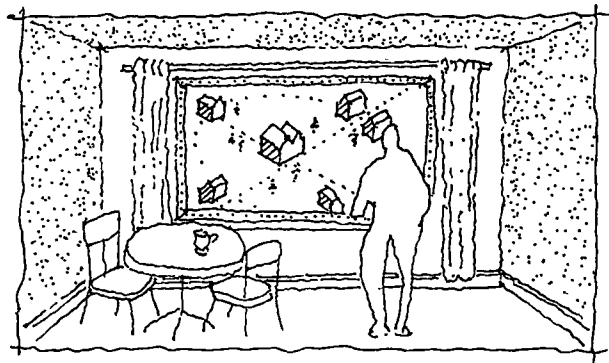
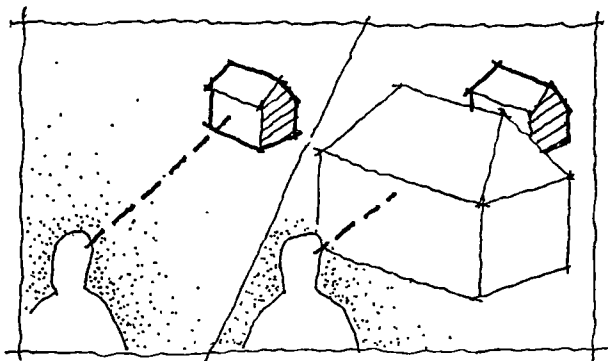


Figure 22.

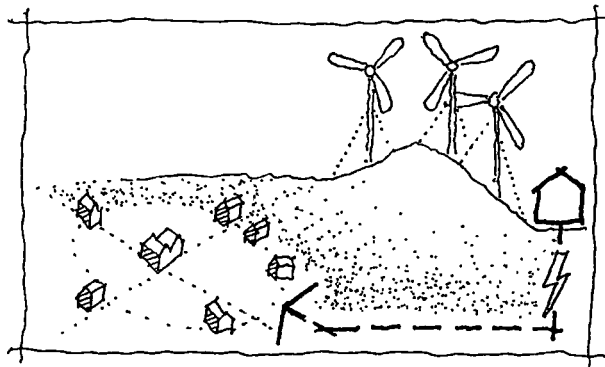


5.1.4 Services

5.1.4.1 Electricity

Two wind-powered generators currently serve the island's electrical needs. There are twenty houses connected to this source of electricity which supplies enough constant power for the operation of most household goods. Construction of additional dwellings at The Corner will eventually place strain on the availability of electricity. The introduction of lighting of paths and general meeting areas at night will also place a further strain on the island's existing power supply. I therefore recommend the introduction of an efficient electrical power system to cope with increased electrical demand. For example, the construction of another wind generator to cope with increased electricity demand for domestic use and community lighting (Fig. 23).

Figure 23.



5.1.4.2 Lighting

Many of the Aboriginal people of the island are reluctant to move far from their houses during the night, particularly the older residents. Lack of lighting has made it difficult for residents to visit one another during the evenings. This indicates that the traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal custom of fear associated with the dark, influences the movement of elderly residents at night. Because of this I recommend lighting along major paths to enable residents to visit one another during evenings (Fig. 24) and also at general meeting areas (Fig. 25).

During the summer months people often cook outdoors approaching dusk. This is done because of the nuisance caused by flies during the day. For this reason I recommend lighting of general outdoor cooking areas (Fig. 26).

Figure 24.

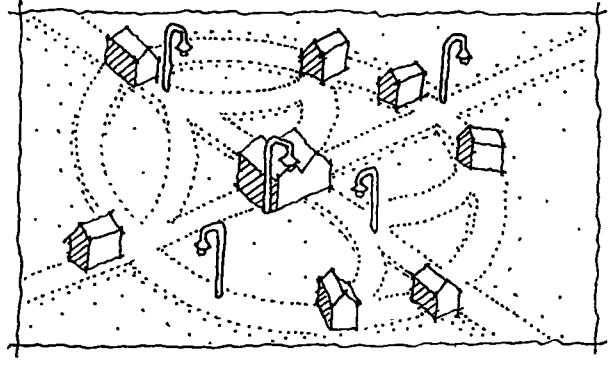


Figure 25.

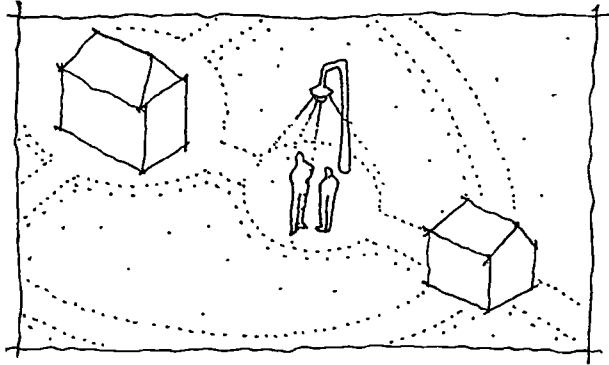
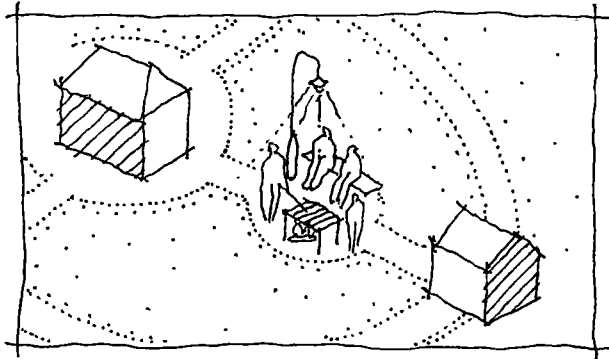


Figure 26.



5.1.4.3 Water Supply

Dam water is used for personal and domestic washing purposes only, while rain water is collected for drinking and cooking. Each house has rainwater holding tanks connected to it, that collect rainwater run-off from roofs. I recommend that the design of any new dwellings and ancillary structures should incorporate rainwater collection systems to facilitate collection and storage of drinking water (Fig. 27).

The rainwater is stored in tanks above ground and tapped directly or pressure fed to elevated tanks where it is again filtered before use. The two large dams, however, are at risk of drying out during summer when there is decreased rainfall (Appendix A). Because of this I suggest the introduction of an additional water supply. For example, the construction of another dam to increase water supply to the community during the summer months (Fig. 28), the addition of quality filtration systems connected to the dams to enable drinking of the dam water (Fig. 29) and the installation of pit toilets to minimise water use during summer months (Fig. 30).

Figure 27.

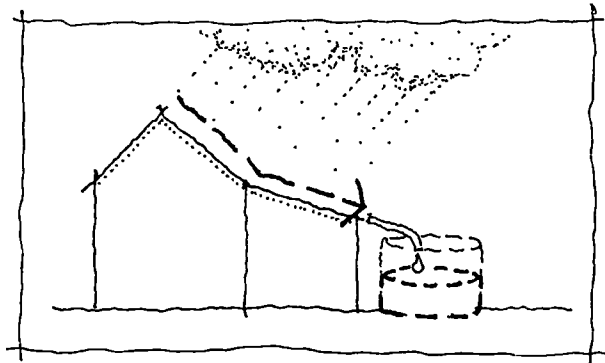


Figure 28.

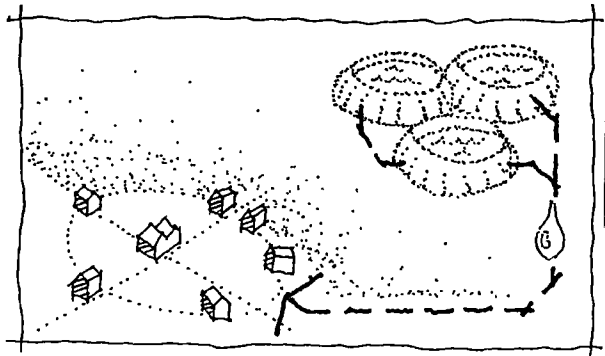


Figure 29.

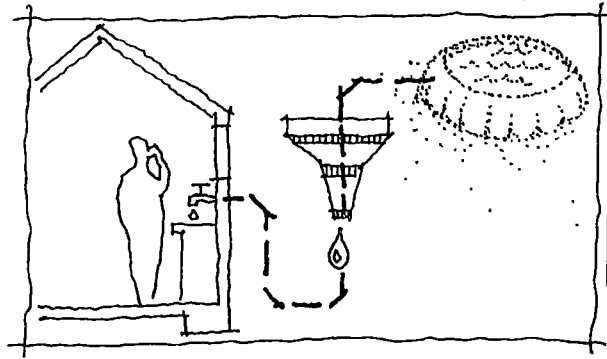
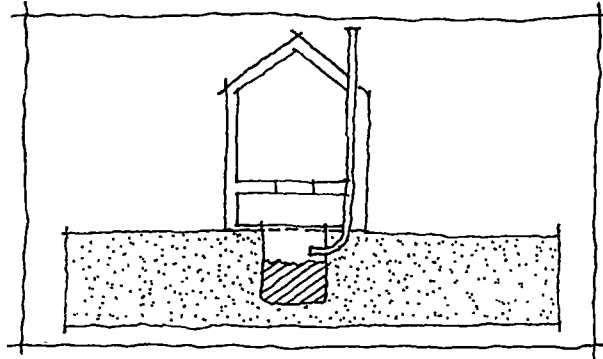


Figure 30.



5.1.4.4 Waste Management (Sewerage)

Most of the houses on the island use flush toilets and are connected to the township's sewer main which carries waste to the sewage lagoon. Run-off from the main lagoon discharges into Sanford Bay Creek and out to sea. Houses not connected to the sewage main have either pit toilets or flush septic systems. Waste removal is carried out by the council. The flush toilet system means water is used during dry periods where water conservation is important. Because of this I recommend that dry toilets should be incorporated into the construction of new dwellings instead of flush septic systems to minimise water use and assist in water conservation during dry weather periods (Fig. 31). The installation of dry toilets would also save on future infrastructure associated with laying sewage lines to new dwellings and end the dumping of waste into Sanford Bay Creek and out to sea (Fig. 32).

Figure 31.

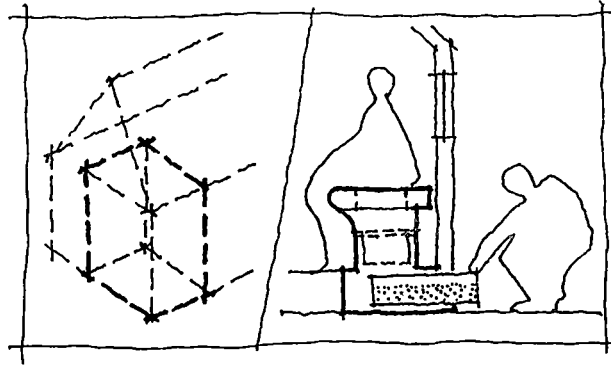
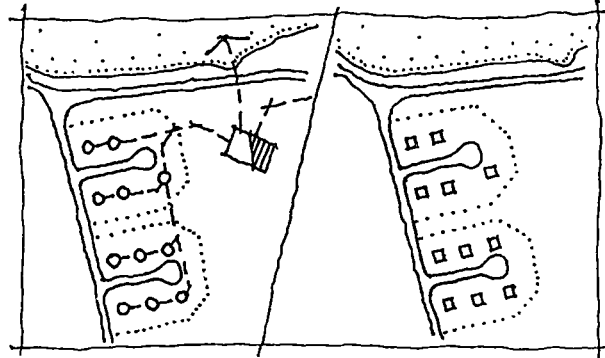


Figure 32.

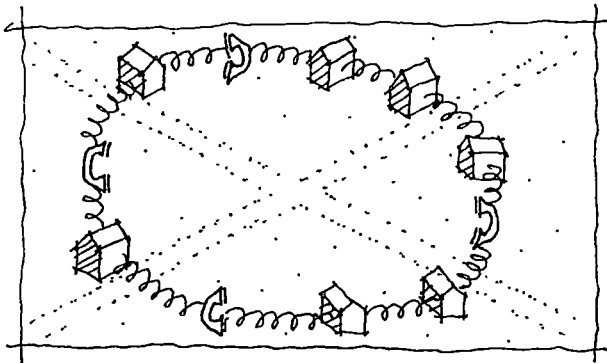


5.1.5 Facilities

5.1.5.1 Telephones

Most residents on the island have telephones connected to their houses. However, few of those residents living outside the community housing area have any means of notifying the medical centre in the event of an emergency. Their only means of arriving at the medical centre is by car, foot or notifying neighbours who may be some distance away. The single public telephone on the island is solar powered and regularly in need of repair. I suggest a more reliable public telephone service or the connection of telephones to all houses thus eliminating the need for a public telephone on the island (Fig. 33).

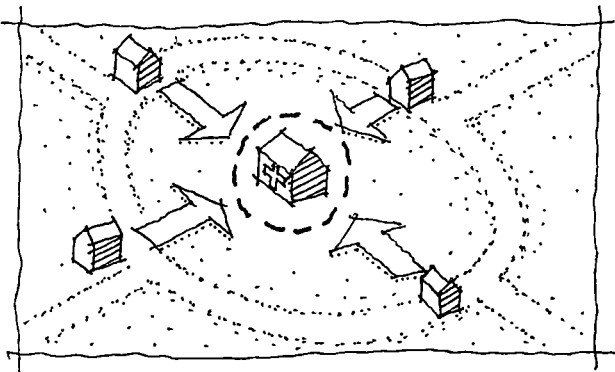
Figure 33.



5.1.5.2 Medical Services

The island medical facility referred to by the locals as the ‘hospital’, is presently located at the edge of the town reserve. Many residents do not own vehicles and must walk everywhere. This is particularly difficult for the elderly. People who do not have telephones and who require medical assistance must walk almost six hundred metres to the centre or seek help from residents who drive cars to take them there in an emergency. I recommend that to reduce the time taken for seriously hurt people to receive medical attention the medical facility be located within the immediate community housing area (Fig. 34).

Figure 34.



5.1.5.3 Fire Services

Houses in the township are all connected to the main water supply provided by two large dams. Located at different points around the town are five fire hydrants; however there is no fire hydrant located at subdivision three (Appendix A). This would suggest that should a fire occur at subdivision three houses would be in jeopardy because of the absence of fire hydrants. Because of this I recommend the installation of fire hydrants at subdivision three (Fig. 35). In addition I also recommend that the location of fire hydrants become central to any further community housing development (Fig. 36). Fire hydrants are connected to the main water supply and their condition is poor. Many hoses are unrolled and lay exposed to the extremes of weather experienced on the island causing them to deteriorate. This indicates that in the event of an emergency, existing water hydrants would not be effective in extinguishing fires. Because of this I recommend the installation of encased, lockable fire hoses (to prevent damage by children and exposure to the elements) no less than forty metres long (Fig. 37). The mobile fire unit is not always located within the Council depot. This would suggest that response times of the fire unit in an emergency may be prolonged than would otherwise be the case if the unit was permanently located at the Council depot. I therefore recommend that the fire truck remain parked within the community and on stand-by (Fig. 38).

Figure 35.

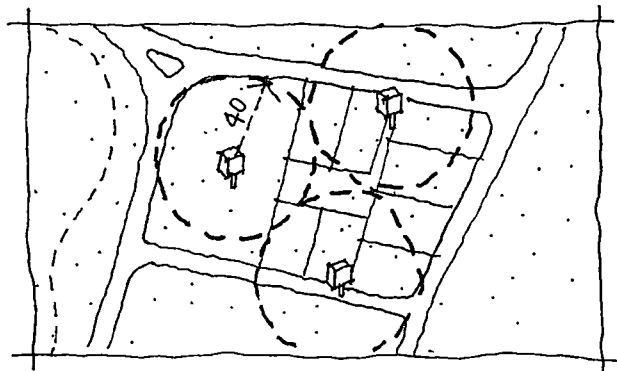


Figure 36.

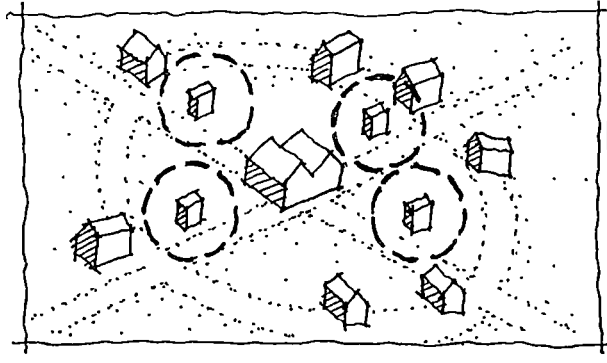


Figure 37.

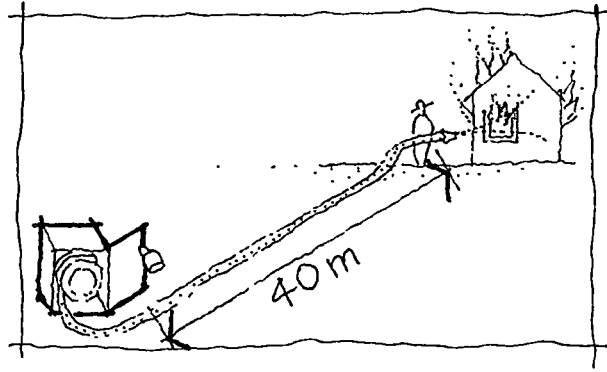
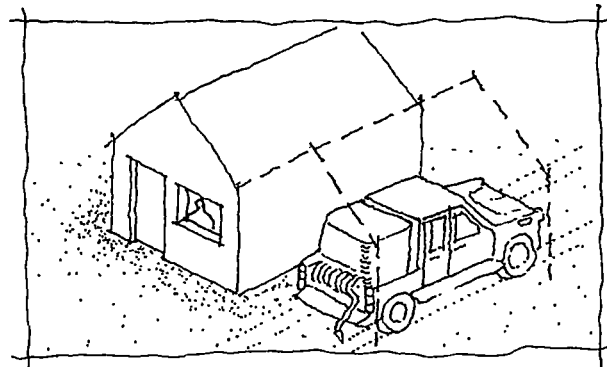


Figure 38.



5.1.6 Landscaping

Most of Cape Barren Island has been affected by fire over the years resulting in sparsely covered vegetation (Appendix B). The absence of trees and dense vegetation has increased the effects of wind and soil erosion. To decrease the effects of wind upon the residents I suggest that trees and shrubs are planted as wind barriers to outside spaces such as general meeting areas and outdoor cooking areas (Fig. 39).

In addition, consideration should be given to the expected height of trees or shrubs so as not to impede a resident's view of the community (Fig. 40). Plants intended for use should be low maintenance and capable of surviving dry weather conditions because of possible water restrictions and able to survive the seaside environment.

Figure 39.

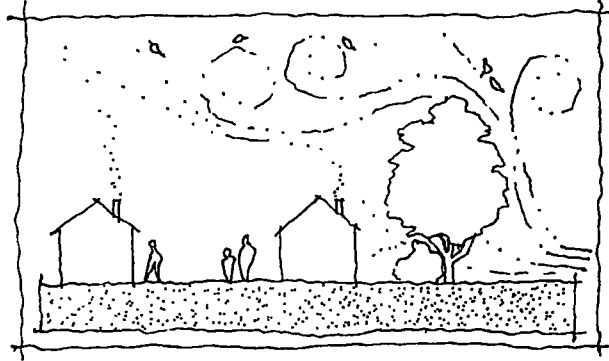
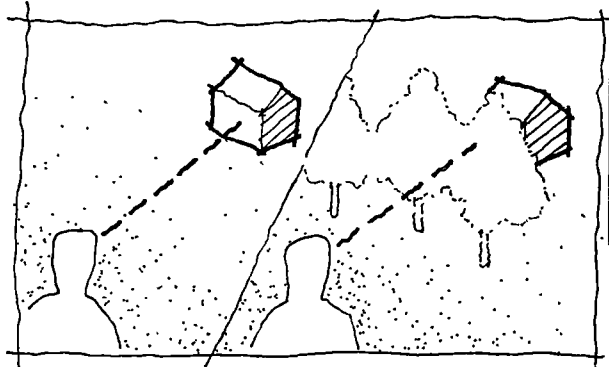


Figure 40.



5.2 Dwelling Design Recommendations

5.2.1 Orientation of Dwellings

Aboriginal residents have the custom of leaving their front door open during the day, welcoming visitors to their dwelling. This practice is continued throughout most times of the year. It indicates to visitors whether a person is home. I recommend that main entrances to dwellings should not face northwest or southwest to minimise the effects of wind when doors are opened (Fig. 41). I also recommend that in dwellings where orientation can not reduce wind intrusion into main entrances that porches are constructed around the entrance of the dwelling (Fig. 42).

The passive solar gain of many government dwellings is poor. Houses overheat in summer and become difficult to heat in winter. This suggests that dwellings do not take advantage of a northerly aspect and are poorly orientated. I recommend that the living areas of dwellings should have a northerly aspect to ensure maximum benefit from passive solar design (Fig. 43).

Figure 41.

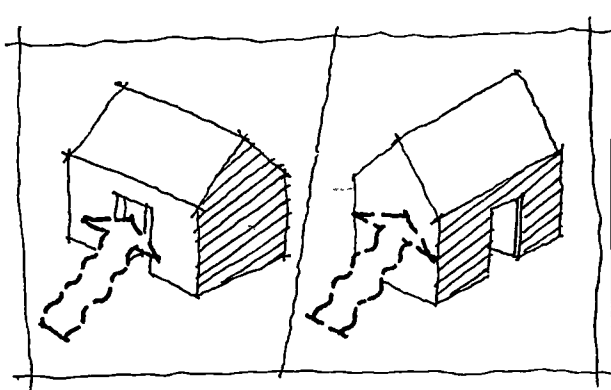


Figure 42.

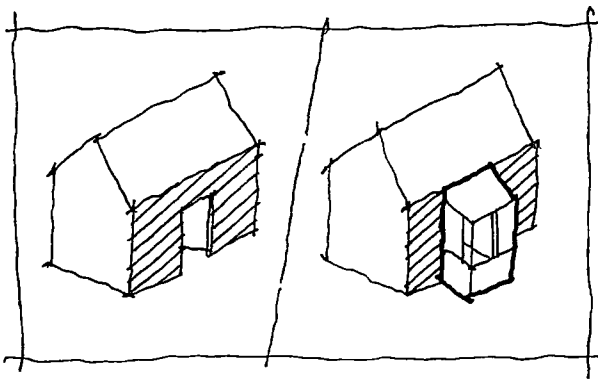
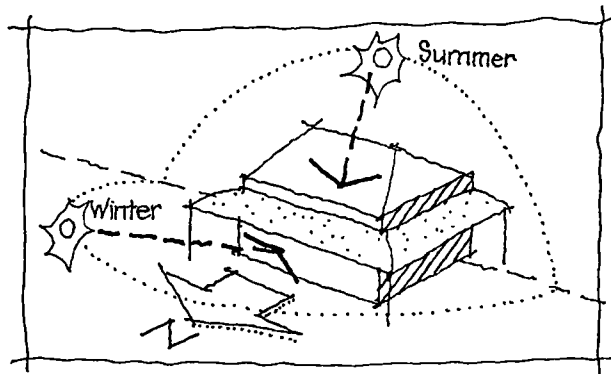


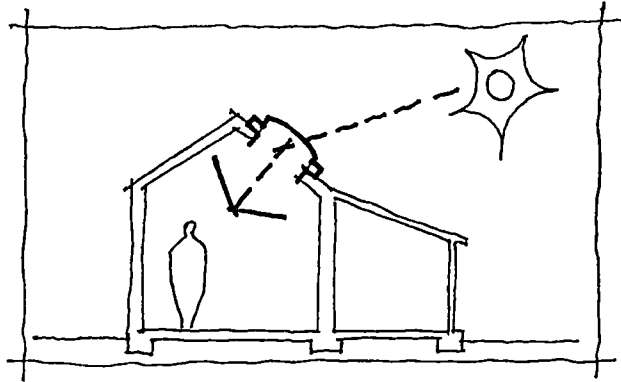
Figure 43.



5.2.1.1 Utility Area

Aboriginal occupants of government houses agreed that the size of the laundry area was adequate. Six government dwellings had problems associated with mould upon the walls of laundry areas. This would indicate that these areas received little natural light. I recommend that the laundry area of dwellings should allow the entry of sunlight by incorporating skylights into the laundry design (Fig. 44).

Figure 44.



5.2.2 Construction of Dwellings

Government dwellings that employed steel frame-construction showed signs of deterioration when the untreated steel construction was exposed. The government and owner-built dwellings that used timber frame-construction showed no signs of damage to the structure caused by the sea air. This indicates that timber-frame constructed dwellings with timber or treated steel cladding are less likely to become affected by the coastal environment. I therefore recommend that the construction of new dwellings should employ a timber frame-construction to eliminate the possibility of damage caused by the sea air (Fig. 45). Inspection of the concrete slab of some dwellings showed that deterioration would only have occurred if the steel reinforcing was exposed. Exposure of steel reinforcing indicates incorrect construction of the concrete slabs. I suggest that quality control of workmanship on dwellings is carried out to reduce the risk of building failure and the need of repairs at a later date (Fig. 46).

Untreated steel building components were also affected by the coastal environment. This indicates incorrect selection of materials for the environment. I therefore recommend that steel building components are treated against oxidation caused by the sea air (Fig. 47).

Figure 45.

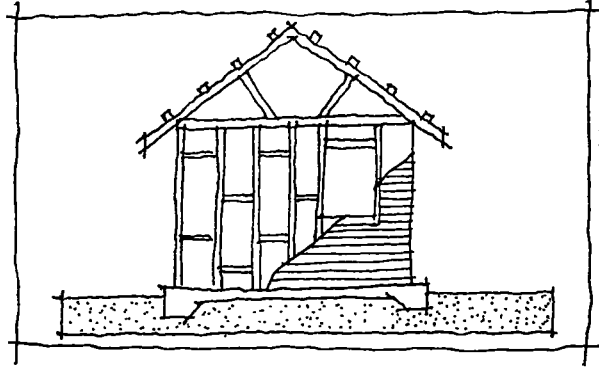


Figure 46.

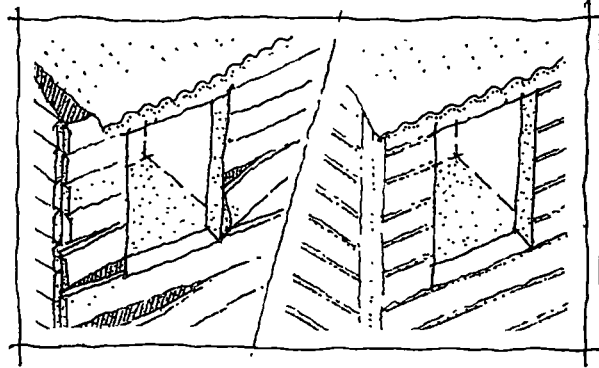
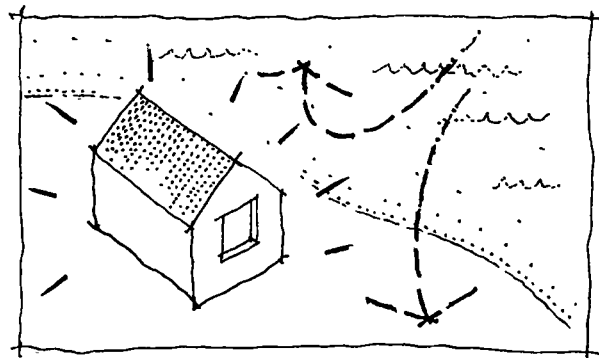


Figure 47.



5.2.3 Dwelling Height

At present, there exist only single storey dwellings on the island. The height of dwellings does not impede residents' views of other houses which is important in facilitating views of their immediate surroundings and visual communication between residents. I recommend that construction of new dwellings should not be greater than single storey in height where the gradient is insufficient to enable unrestricted views of the community (Fig. 48). I recommend also that buildings may be greater than single storey but no greater than double storey only when it is determined by the residents that construction will not block important views and impede observation by the residents of their immediate surroundings (Fig. 49).

Figure 48.

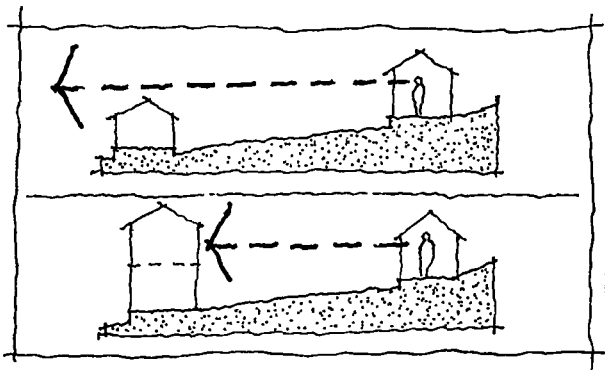
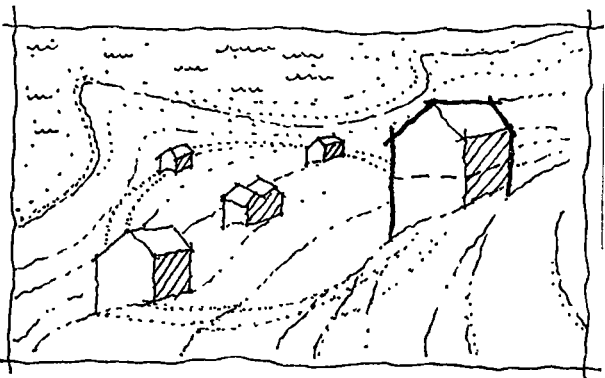


Figure 49.



5.2.4 Spatial Requirements

Aboriginal residents occupying dwellings that combined the kitchen, dining and living areas were satisfied with the available space. Residents living in dwellings with similar floor space, but with separated kitchen, dining and living areas indicated they felt the spaces were too small. The kitchen and dining are seldom used unless they are combined with the living area. This indicates that the existing size of the kitchen, dining and living areas prove satisfactory if incorporated into an open plan arrangement. I therefore recommend that the kitchen, dining and living areas should be combined into an open plan arrangement to facilitate unrestricted domiciliary behaviour of the Aboriginal residents (Fig. 50). Many of the activities conducted in Aboriginal households take place within the living area. These include recreational activities and eating meals and may involve as many as twelve people. Visitors also sleep in this area when visiting a household. This indicates that the living area must accommodate many people undertaking various activities. I suggest that the living area of Aboriginal dwellings should be larger than currently exists to facilitate the number of people involved in different activities and accommodate visitor sleeping arrangements (Fig. 51).

Figure 50.

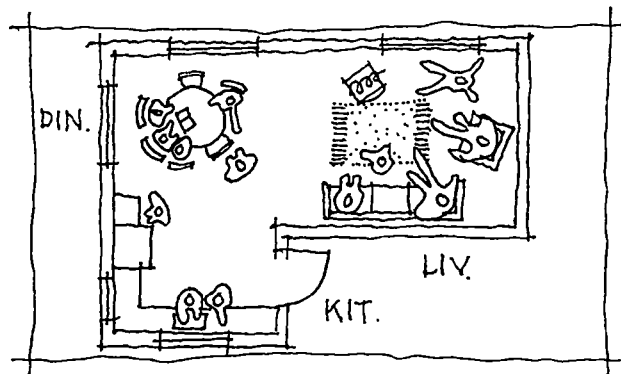
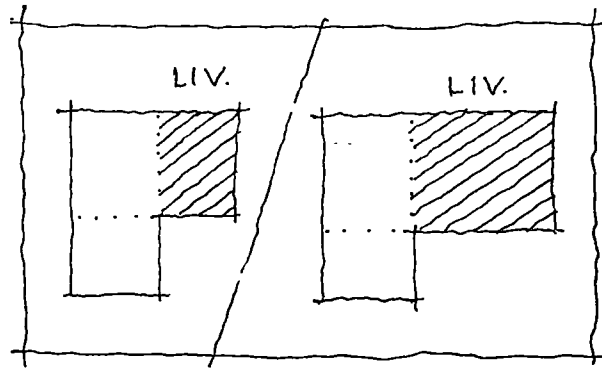


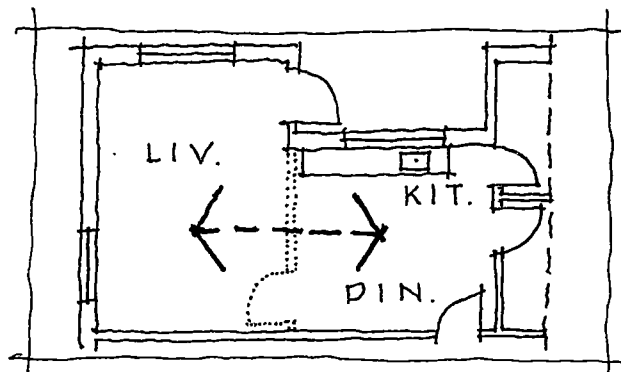
Figure 51.



5.2.4.1 Living Area

Residents living in the four-bedroom brick dwellings expressed their dissatisfaction with the size of the living area as it caused overcrowding when visitors sleep in this area. These dwellings had the living room separated from the combined kitchen and dining area. The area of the living room when compared with the living area of the three-bedroom fibre cement dwellings - which none of the residents considered small - was approximately the same. This indicates that a combined kitchen/dining and living area would reduce crowding for visitors sleeping in this area. In addition it would provide relief caused by crowding during the preparation of meals. I therefore recommend that the kitchen/dining and living areas of the existing four-bedroom brick-constructed houses are opened up by removal of the non-structural partition wall separating the two areas (Fig. 52).

Figure 52.



5.2.4.2 Kitchen

Owner-built dwellings have more usable bench space than government houses. Kitchen work areas of owner-built dwellings are located under windows. Two thirds of government dwellings have the bench areas located away from windows. Residents living in these dwellings used artificial lighting during the day for most tasks carried out on the kitchen bench areas. This suggests that positioning the kitchen benches under windows would provide natural light and reduce the need for artificial light during the day. I therefore suggest that kitchen work areas should be located near windows to provide natural lighting for tasks (Fig. 53). The division of the kitchen work area in some government dwellings causes disruption, particularly during the preparation of meals. This is caused by people entering the rear of the dwelling and travelling through the kitchen to gain access to the living area. This indicates that the orientation of the dwelling influences entry through the kitchen causing increased traffic in this area. I recommend that the dwelling be orientated differently making the main entry to the house through the living area (Fig. 54). If this can not be achieved then I recommend that the work area should be located to one side of the kitchen and not divided in order to reduce disruption caused by household traffic (Fig. 55). There are many people involved in the preparation of the evening meal and this is a very important social activity. It also causes meal preparation to spill onto the dining area and sometimes the living area. To reduce the effects of crowding during the preparation of meals I recommend that future dwelling designs incorporate larger kitchen areas into the design of the house (Fig. 56).

Figure 53.

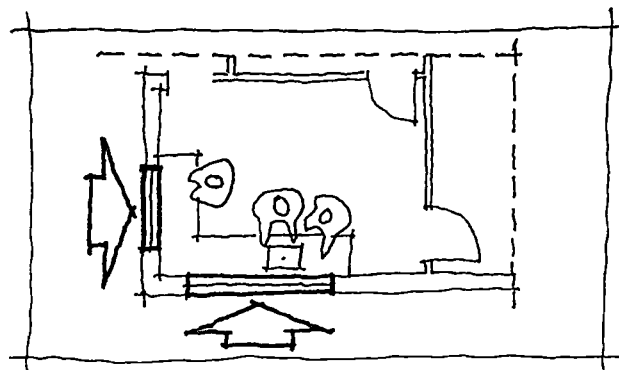


Figure 54.

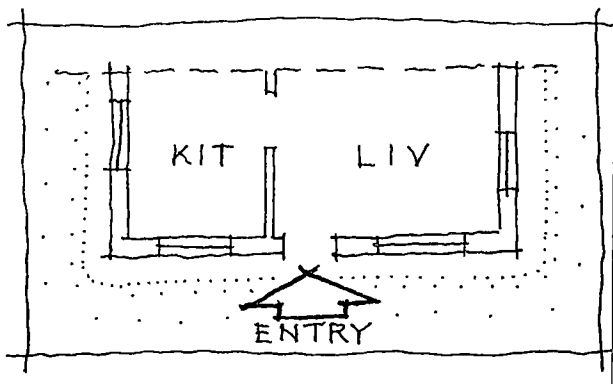


Figure 55.

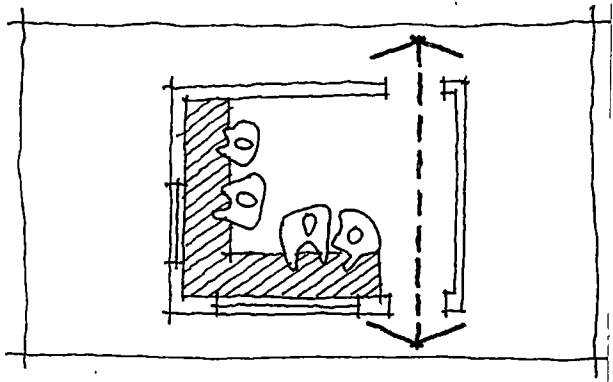
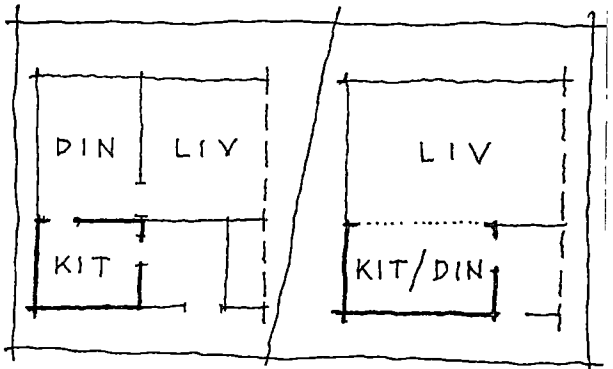


Figure 56.



5.2.4.3 Storage

Food is stored in different areas of the kitchen. Perishables are stored in the refrigerator. Canned foods are stored on shelves or in cupboards. Regularly used items such as coffee, butter and bread are stored on bench tops. Kitchen cutlery that is used regularly is stored in the open and close to the stove or on a bench top. Cupboards are used but always have the doors open.

This indicates that shelves are more commonly used as storage areas for food and benches for cutlery. It implies that cupboards are used mainly as shelves. Because of the Aboriginal residents practice of storing food and cutlery in the open I recommend that more shelf space is provided in kitchens (Fig. 57) and that more lineal bench space is provided in the kitchen area (Fig. 58).

Figure 57.

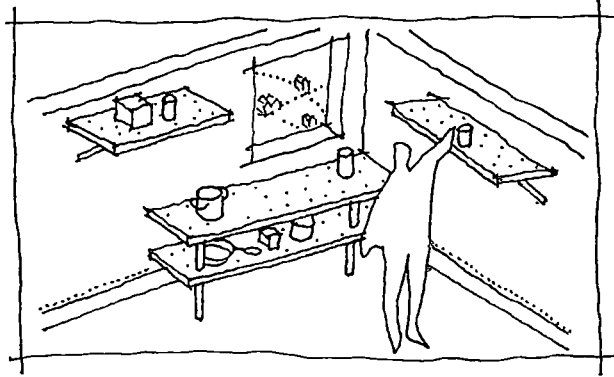
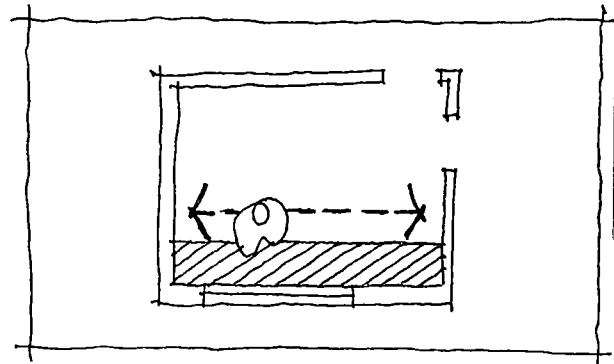


Figure 58.



5.2.5 Heating

The government dwellings with the poorest thermal performance were the fibre cement-constructed dwellings. These took approximately thirty to forty minutes to heat the combined living and dining area. Heat loss of these dwellings was primarily the result of poor orientation of many houses and the lack of roof insulation of some dwellings and not the construction and cladding of the dwelling. I recommend that by modifying existing dwellings heat loss could be restricted by: sealing exposed existing floor boards to restrict drafts (Fig. 59), replacement or installation of floor underlay and carpet floor covering (Fig. 60), installing or replacing old roof insulation (Fig. 61),

installing adequate window curtains (Fig. 62). I recommend also that new dwellings should integrate passive solar design (Fig. 63). The heating of dwellings on the island for all residents is dependent upon firewood for open fires, wood burning heaters and slow combustion stoves. Large areas of the island have been ravaged by fire on many occasions, and trees and other fuel appear in few sparsely covered areas on the island. This indicates that continued wood fuel heating of dwellings will cause serious depletion of timber reserves on the island. I recommend the installation of ducted electrical heating systems throughout dwellings to maintain comfortable internal temperatures (Fig. 64). This would reduce the need for wood fuel and the destruction of the limited vegetation of Cape Barren Island. Power for electric heating could be supplied by the construction of another wind generator (Fig. 65). The Aboriginal residents have the practice of using a clothes dryer in the kitchen. Its use contributes to the warmth of the area during winter. I therefore recommend that the kitchen area should be large enough to accommodate a clothes dryer (Fig. 66).

Figure 59.

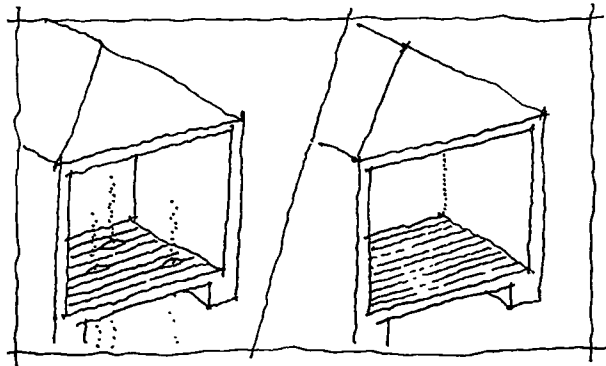


Figure 60.

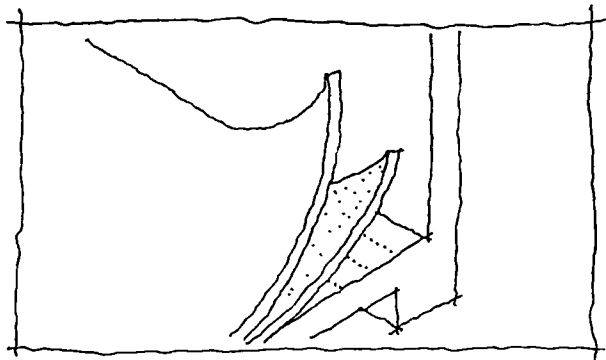


Figure 61.

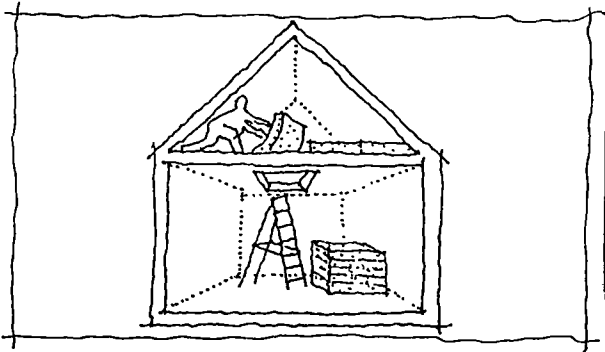


Figure 62.

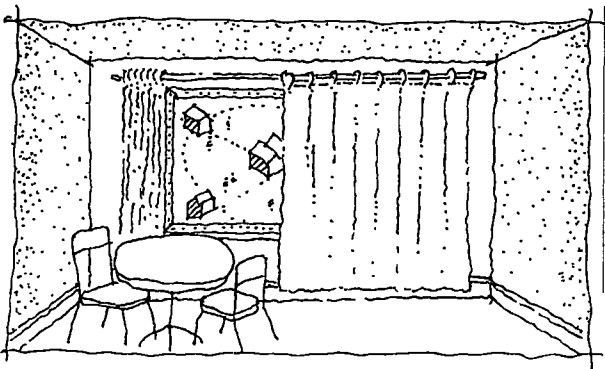


Figure 63.

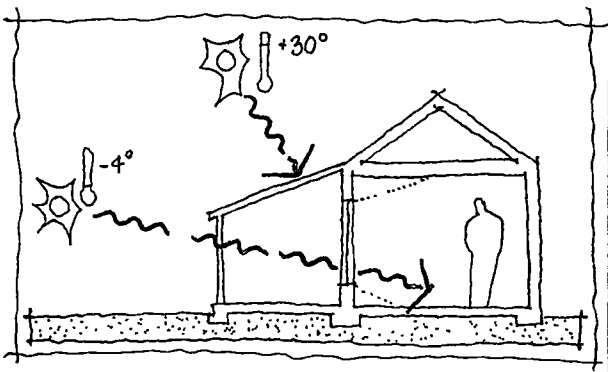


Figure 64.

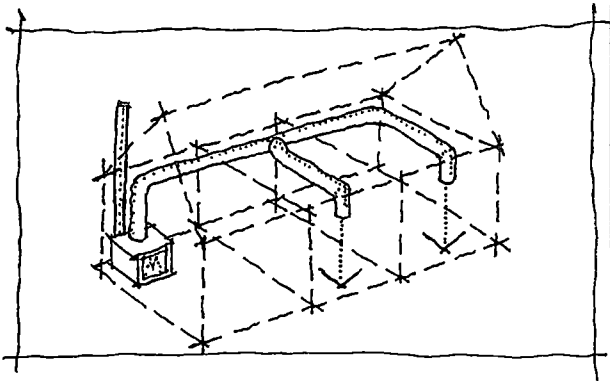


Figure 65.

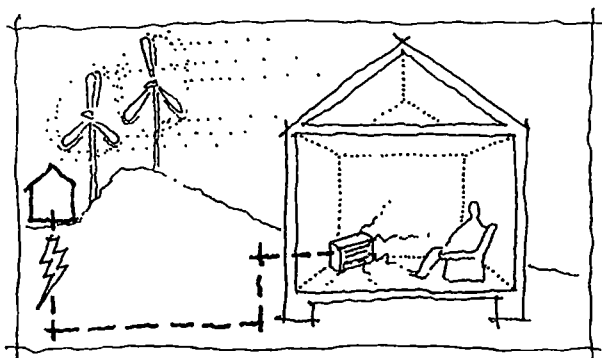
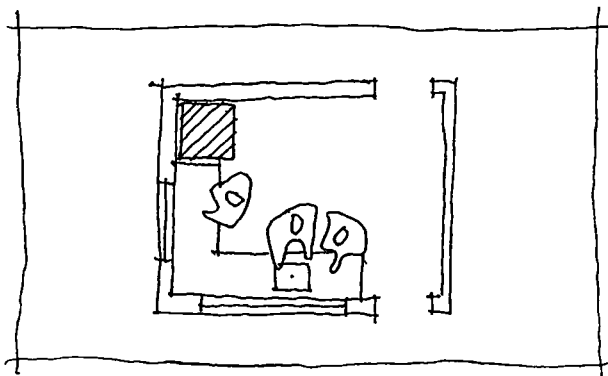


Figure 66.



5.3 Conclusions

The Government-provided houses on Cape Barren Island provide a physical structural environment that supports the behaviour taking place within it. The design features of each dwelling (size, shape, scale and boundaries) all directly, though subtly, affect domiciliary behaviour. The physical structuring and organisation of space within the dwellings establish limits which affect individual movement, household traffic flow, comfort and so on. A considered approach to the design and planning of dwellings for this contemporary Aboriginal community can reduce the possibility of inappropriate house designs and minimise the chances of occupant dissatisfaction.

The residential model on Cape Barren Island is based upon the criteria for housing large population densities and is reliant upon the car for the movement of people within it. The small population of the island, the fact that few residents own vehicles and the remote location seriously question the appropriateness of the suburban residential model for the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island.

Despite limitations the design of some dwellings has placed upon the Aboriginal residents of the island, some people have chosen to modify their physical structural environment to suit their lifestyles and individual needs. Others have continued with their activities in spite of the restrictions placed upon them by the design of the dwelling. This is attributed to the continuation of some traditional customs that are still practised today. These include the contemporary seasonal movement patterns established in the 1870s and the daily visitations by Aboriginal residents which effect household numbers. Increases in household numbers and group involvement in activities are the main cause of crowding of government dwellings. Group activities and social interaction between the Aboriginal residents form the basis for Aboriginal Islander lifestyle. The design of some dwellings, in particular, the four-bedroom brick-constructed houses restrict group activities. Conversely, the three-bedroom fibre cement-constructed dwellings, some of which have structural imperfections, did facilitate social interaction and group activities between Aboriginal residents.

Particular contemporary Aboriginal domiciliary practices do not compare with traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal domiciliary behaviour, and for most part, differ subtly from common domestic Australian practices. With the exception of movement, privacy and visual communication, these particular contemporary domiciliary practices have little influence upon the way dwellings are used by the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island.

It is intended that these design recommendations will promote a more appropriate response by architects and planners when considering any form of future development for the contemporary Aboriginal Community of Cape Barren Island. It is also intended to inform the Aboriginal residents of the benefits to their community if these suggestions are implemented in facilitating and maintaining their desired lifestyles.

5.4 Summary

The following is a table of the design recommendations outlined in this chapter for the contemporary Aboriginal community of Cape Barren Island.

Topic	Recommendation	Figure
Community focus	Tables and seats should be installed at the general store.	10
	Lighting should be installed outside the general store.	11
	Public pit toilets should be located at general store.	12
	The general store and post office should be the community focus.	13
Movement	Development of houses should be within walking distance of the community focus.	14
	Benches and covered areas should be constructed along paths.	15
Roads	The road from The Corner to the air field should be upgraded.	16
	Cars should be restricted to major vehicle routes.	17
Paths	The most travelled paths should be recognised for upgrading.	18
	The construction of permanent paths should only be done after 'guide' paths have been established.	19
	Paths should be paved to facilitate water run-off.	20
Vision	Residents should be able to see uninterrupted views of general meeting areas from their houses.	21
	Dwellings should be orientated so that community members can easily view other houses.	22
Services		
Electricity	Another wind generator should be constructed to cope with increased power demands of the residents.	23
Lighting	Lighting should be installed along major paths	24
	Lighting should be installed at general meeting areas.	25
	Lighting of outdoor cooking areas should be provided.	26
Water Supply	New dwellings and ancillary structures should incorporate rainwater collection systems.	27
	Another dam should be constructed.	28
	Water filtration systems should be connected to dams	29
Sewerage	Pit toilets should be constructed.	30
	Dry toilets should incorporated into the design of new dwellings	31
	Environmental and infrastructure costs should be lowered.	32

Table of the design recommendations cntd.

Topic	Recommendation	Figure
Facilities		
Telephones	A more reliable telephone service should be installed.	33
Medical Services	A medical facility should be located within the immediate community housing area.	34
Fire Services	Fire hydrants should be installed at subdivision three.	35
	Fire hydrants should become central to any further development on the island.	36
	The fire hoses should be encased and lockable.	37
	The fire truck should remain on stand-by.	38
Landscaping	Trees and shrubs should be planted and used as wind barriers.	39
	The height of trees or shrubs should not impede resident's view of the community.	40
Orientation of Dwellings	The main entrance of dwellings should not face northwest or southwest.	41
	Entrances affected by wind should be protected by the construction of porches.	42
	Living areas of dwellings should have a northerly aspect.	43
Utility Area	The laundry area of dwellings should allow the entry of sunlight.	44
Construction of Dwellings	New dwellings should employ timber frame-construction.	45
	There should be quality control of workmanship of dwellings.	46
	Steel Building components should be treated to resist oxidation.	47
	New dwellings should not be greater than one storey in height unless the gradient is steep enough.	48
	Dwellings may be greater than single storey but no greater than double storey and only if this does not impede residents views.	49
Spatial Requirements	Kitchen, dining and living areas of dwellings should be combined into an open plan arrangement.	50
	The living area of dwellings should be larger than currently exists.	51
Living Area	The kitchen/ dining and living areas of the four-bedroom brick-constructed dwellings should be incorporated.	52
Kitchen	Kitchen work areas should be located near windows.	53
	The main entry to dwellings should be through the living area	54

Table of the design recommendations cntd.

Topic	Recommendation	Figure
Kitchen cntd.	The kitchen work area should be located to one side of the kitchen.	55
	Future dwelling designs should incorporate larger kitchen areas.	56
Storage	More shelf space should be provided in the kitchen area.	57
	More lineal bench space should be provided in the kitchen area.	58
Heating	Exposed existing floor boards should be sealed.	59
	The replacement or installation of floor underlay and carpet floor covering should be done.	60
	The installation or replacement of old roof insulation should be done.	61
	Adequate window curtains should be installed.	62
	New dwellings should integrate passive solar design	63
	Dwellings should incorporate ducted electrical heating	64
	Another wind generator should be constructed.	65
	The kitchen should be large enough to accommodate a clothes dryer.	66

Appendix A

Cape Barren Island - A Settlement Description

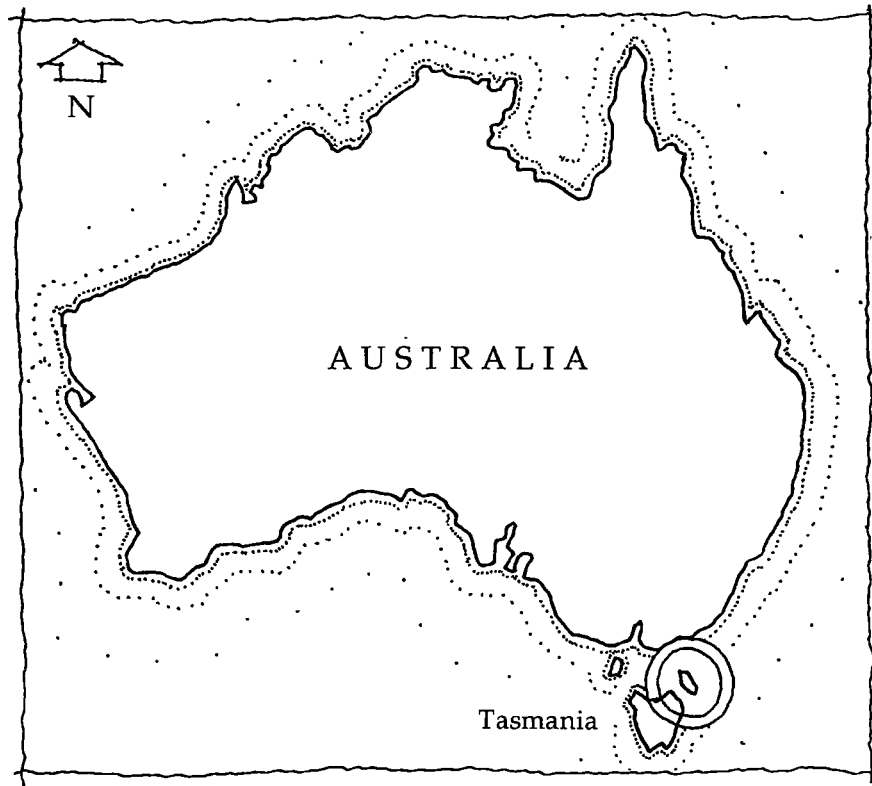
The aim of this appendix is to record the existing location of services and facilities to establish a clear description of existing planning on Cape Barren Island.

The major part of the data obtained in this appendix is the result of the author's observations and interviews with the Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island. The sections 1.2, 1.4.5, 1.5.1 and 1.5.4 to 1.5.6 are the results of data obtained from literature sources.

1.1 The Study Location

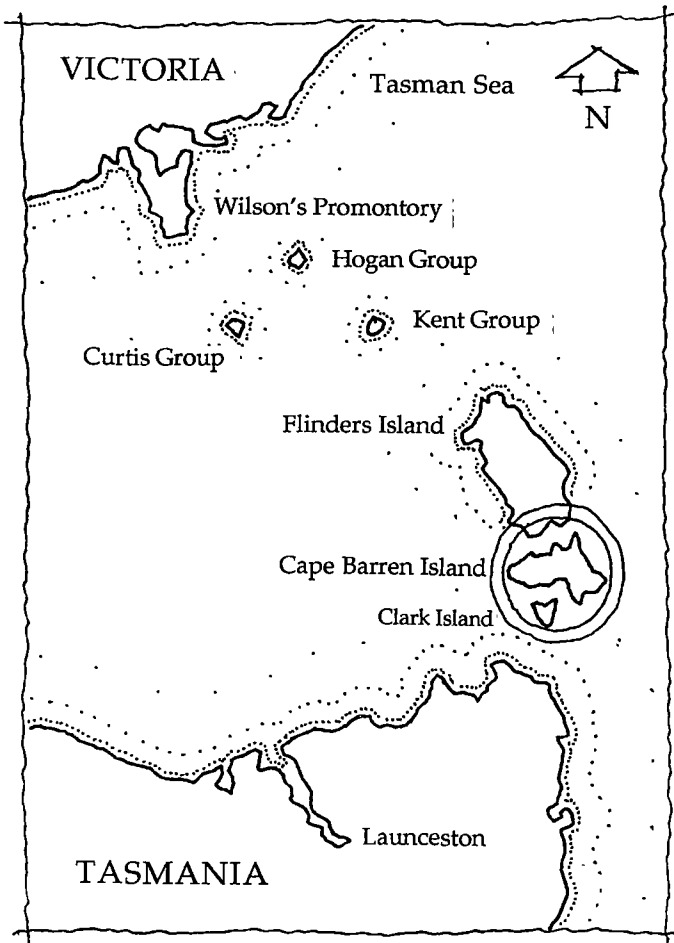
Cape Barren Island is located in eastern Bass Strait, the second largest of three main islands of the Furneaux group between Victoria's Wilson's Promontory and Tasmania's Cape Portland. The largest island, Flinders Island and the smaller Clarke Island are among fifty islands of varying sizes covering an area of 1,992 square kilometres that make up the Furneaux group (Fowler 1980:45). Cape Barren Island is approximately forty two kilometres in length and twenty two kilometres wide (over 100,000 acres) with its highest point, Mount Munro, 687 metres above sea level (Murry-Smith 1974:14). The township on Cape Barren Island has a population of approximately eighty people of whom seventy one are Aboriginal.

The township itself is located on the western end of the island along Sanford Bay overlooking Long Island to the northwest and Strzelecki National Park of Flinders Island to the northeast. The majority of the island's residents live at the township along Thunder and Lightning Road known as The Corner. A five kilometre long stretch of dirt road runs from the township at the northern end to Thunder and Lightning Bay at the southern end of the island.



Map 8. The study location.

Running along the northeast coast of the island from Sanford Bay is Rooks River Road. This is a rough dirt track that runs as far as Puncheon Point on the northeast tip of the island. Access on this road is limited to motor bikes or all-terrain four wheel drive vehicles. During the wetter months, access along this track is almost impossible because of flooding and land instability. Access during the dryer months is also difficult because of the extent of soil erosion caused by the wet season, which leaves holes and ground openings up to three feet deep. At the southern end of the island off the main road, Thunder and Lightning Road, is Barrets Road which requires an all-terrain vehicle for access as far as Battery Bay Hills.



Map 9. The Furneaux Island Group
scale 1:550,000 (source: Pybus 1992:101).

Travel to the island from Launceston is by light aircraft, which also delivers supplies and mail. A charter boat arrives with supplies, when necessary from Lady Barron on Flinders Island.

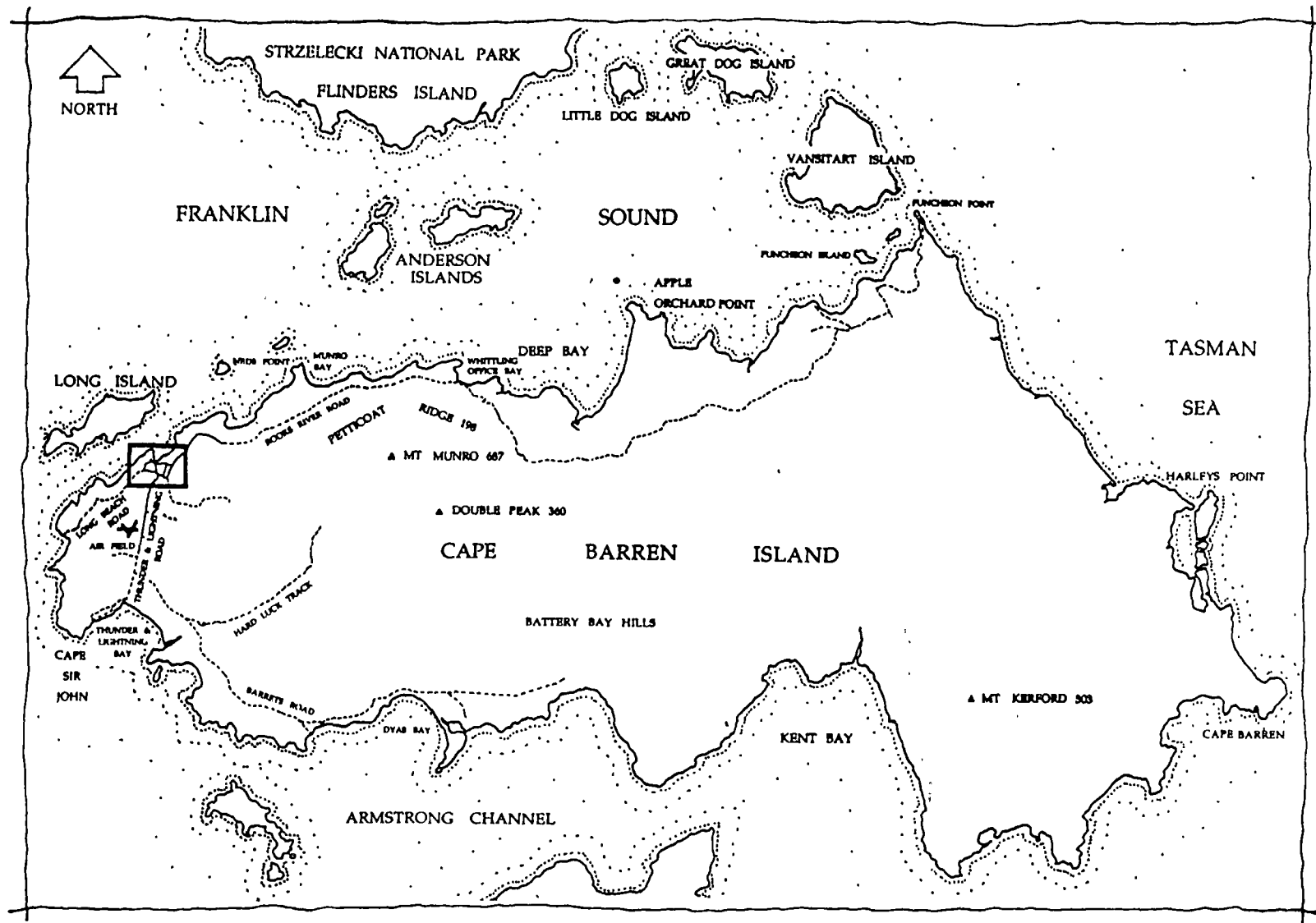
1.2 Climate

Temperatures on Cape Barren Island range from 40°C and above during the summer months to 40°C during winter.

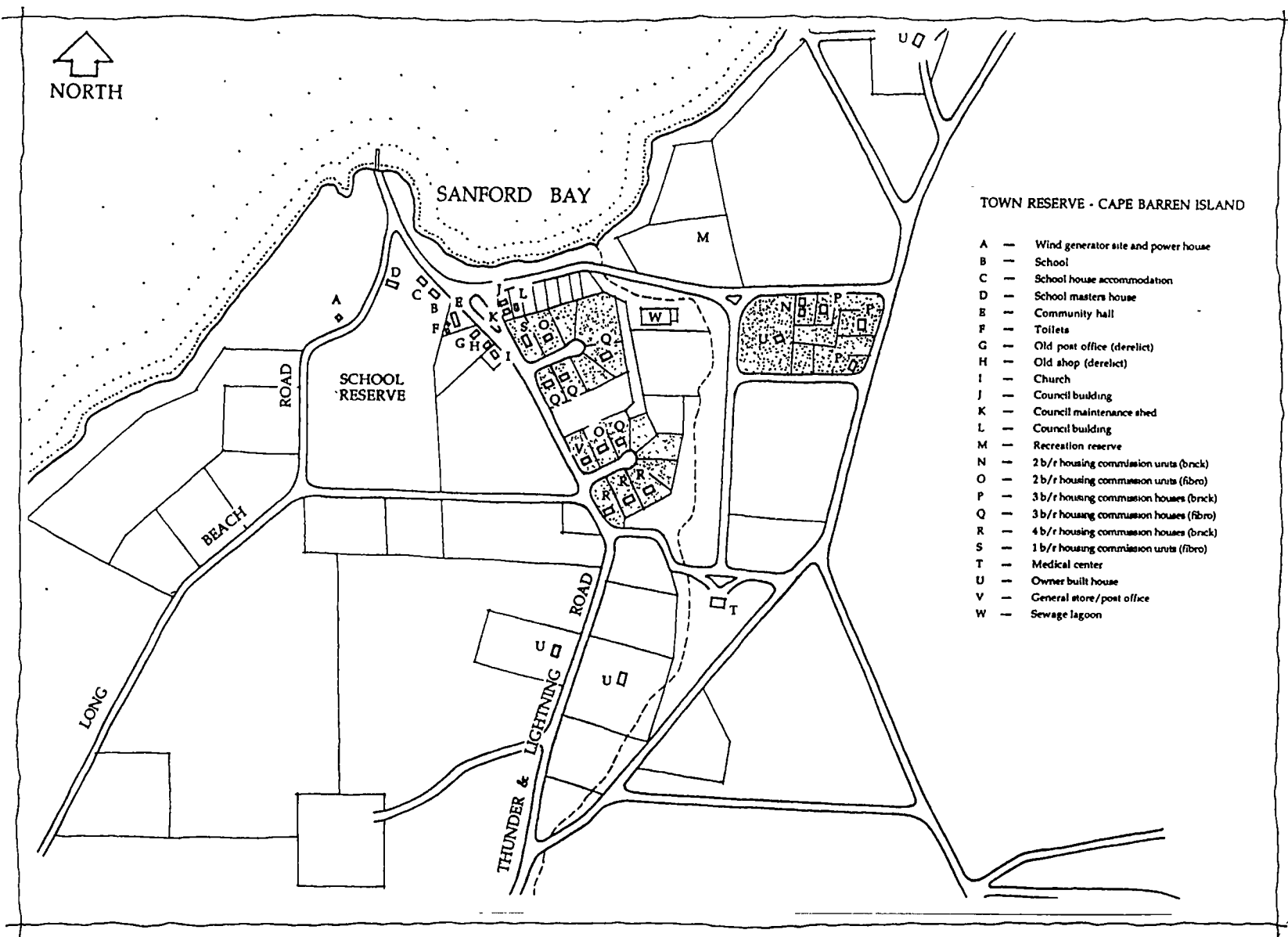
Prevailing winds are the north-westerly and south-westerly (Hobart Bureau of Meteorology 1994).

Rainfall on the island measures 750 mm

annually. The season of 1994 had been the driest in twenty years with an annual rainfall measuring 525 mm (Dec. 94). As a result of such small rainfall the island has been ravaged by fire. The fire of 1991, which devastated 80% of the island, has left it sparsely covered with tall trees and a few patches of dense vegetation. As a result, little vegetation remains to prevent soil erosion and protect dwellings against prevailing winds.



Map 10. Cape Barren Island. Scale 1:300,000
(source: Tasmap, 1995)



Map 11. The Corner - Cape Barren Island Town Reserve
Scale 1:3,000 (source: Chris Zidak, 1995)



Plate 3. Travel to the Island by light aircraft.
(source: C. Zidak 1995)

1.3 Services

1.3.1 Electricity

Electricity is supplied to the island by two wind turbine generators installed in 1993. The generators stand eighteen metres high with long rotors that spin in the wind. These drive a shaft connected to the turbine generator. The rotors of the turbine generator are two metres in length and spin into the line of the wind with the aid of a tail assembly. The wind generator is protected from excessively high winds by the governor tail assembly swinging the rotor out of the wind, which reduces the speed of rotation of the turbine. When winds are sufficient to turn the turbine generator, electricity is transferred for storage to the power house.

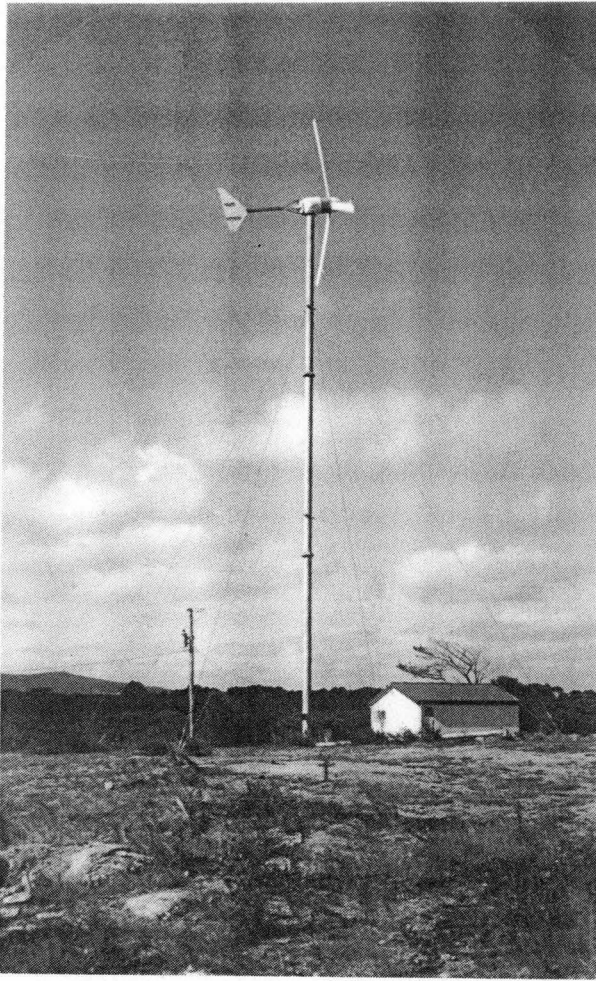


Plate 4. Wind generator and power house.

(source: C. Zidak 1995)

The power house contains deep cycle battery banks which store direct electrical current (DC). It then transfers this to an inverter which converts the electrical current to 240-volt AC power for twenty four-hour supply when the rotors stop spinning. Located within the power house are two diesel-powered generators. Prior to the construction of the wind generators, three diesel generators supplied power to the community for nine hours a day.

These generators are located in the centre of the township and are rarely used today. There

are twenty two houses that are connected to the wind-powered electrical supply. Those houses not connected use kerosene lanterns for light, gas for cooking and wood-burning stoves or fires for heating. The power provided by the wind generators provides enough constant electricity for all domestic purposes such as operating televisions, white goods and lighting.

1.3.2 Water

Houses in the township are all connected to the main water supply provided by two large dams located one kilometre north east of town. Water from the dams is run through a sand filter system and stored in the holding tank before being sent to town. Located at different points around the town are five fire hydrants connected to the main water supply.

The dam water is used for personal and domestic washing purposes only, while rain water is collected for drinking and cooking. Shortly after my 1995 visit to the island the two large dams had gone dry due to the extremely dry summer and decreased rainfall. Each house and ancillary structure has rainwater holding tanks connected to it that collect rainwater run-off from roofs. The rainwater is stored in tanks above ground and tapped directly or pressure fed to elevated tanks where it is again filtered before use. Natural springs feature around the island, though many empty out to sea. One spring near Thunder and Lightning Bay has been used in the past, but its 80% magnesium content makes it unpalatable for human consumption. There are two cattle grazing stations on the island that use bore water to supply their cattle.

1.3.3 Waste Management (Sewage)

Most of the houses on the island are connected to the townships sewer main which carries waste to the sewage lagoon east of the township. The lagoon measures forty metres in length and twenty metres across with a gently sloping base. In addition to the main holding lagoon there is a secondary holding pond into which the sewage run-off from the main lagoon is directed, leaving much of the heavier waste matter behind. This in turn is directed into Sanford Bay Creek and out to sea.



Plate 5. The public solar-powered telephone.

(source: C. Zidak 1995)

Those houses not connected to the sewage main, have either pit toilets or flush septic systems. Maintenance and waste removal are carried out by the council.

1.3.4 Telephone

Telephones are connected to most houses on the island. They are powered by solar-powered photovoltaic cells. The public telephone is solar powered and the council building, hospital and school master's house have telephones and facsimile machines. The photovoltaic cells that power the telephones,

generate electricity during the daylight hours and store power for use during the night in deep-cycle lead-acid batteries.

1.3.5 Supplies

The island's food supply is flown in every Wednesday and Friday. This includes milk, bread, canned foods and fresh vegetables. Heavier supplies are brought in by boat every three months. However, the regularity of the boats' arrival to the island is not guaranteed. A charter boat from Lady Barron is also used to ferry goods and supplies from Flinders Island. The cost of freight adds approximately one dollar to the purchase price of most items sold at Cape Barren. Petrol is a precious commodity at around \$1.30 a litre. This is sold during the hours of 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. each day at the council maintenance shed. With the delivery of the weekly supplies is the mail which the locals eagerly await and which proves to be the highlight of the week's events.



Plate 6. A plane unloading supplies from Launceston.

(source: C. Zidak 1995)

1.4 Facilities

Cape Barren Island provides basic facilities for the community such as general store, post office, school and medical facility.

1.4.1 General Store

The general store, located at the entrance to The Corner, provides a range of canned food and limited fresh produce as well as domestic and personal cleaning products. The store also stocks a large range of utility products such as kerosene, batteries, matches and so on. These supplies are flown in from Launceston or Lady Barron on Flinders Island every Wednesday and Friday.



Plate 7. The general store and post office.

(source: C. Zidak 1995)

1.4.2 Post Office

Adjoining the general store is the post office which handles both postage and freight. Mail and freight are also flown in from Launceston with the general store supplies. Islanders travel to the post office to collect their mail as there is no delivery service.

1.4.3 School

The primary school is located near Sanford Bay and conducts classes for children from the ages of four to twelve years. This incorporates kindergarten to grade six. Students studying grade seven and above must attend secondary school at Launceston. The primary school is run by one teacher and an assistant who currently teach a class of ten children.



Plate 8. The Cape Barren Island primary school.
(source: C. Zidak 1995)

The school is well equipped and provides the children with a range of educational equipment. This includes musical instruments, audio and visual equipment such as a television and small stereo system, kitchen and cooking facilities. Adjoining the old school house is the school library and games room. The school office has a telephone, facsimile machine and computer.

1.4.4 Medical Services

The island medical facility referred to by the locals as the 'hospital', is located at the north east corner of town. The medical centre is part of a three-bedroom weather board house. It is supervised by a trained nurse at all times. The nurse lives at the medical centre, where adjoining her living area are the doctor's examining room, patients room and waiting area.



Plate 9. The 'hospital' - Cape Barren Island medical facility.

(source: C. Zidak 1995)

The medical centre is equipped for minor medical emergencies. Patients requiring emergency treatment or surgery are flown to Launceston by the Flying Doctor Service and admitted to hospital for treatment. A doctor visits the island by aeroplane one Friday each month to examine patients on what the locals refer to as 'doctors day'. The doctor leaves the same day making drug dispensing, supervision and minor treatment of patients the responsibility of the nurse.

1.4.5 Police and Fire Services

During the 1930s, increased prosperity was brought to the island by a series of good mutton birding seasons. Many Aboriginal people moved to Cape Barren Island and worked on Great Dog and Babel Island hunting mutton birds. In addition, tin mining brought many people to the island. During this period, the population on Cape Barren increased to 300 people. This was the largest community population in Cape Barren's history prompting the building of a police station at The Corner (Felton 1991B:51).

Today the island does not have a permanent police station. Police visit the island routinely from Lady Barron on Flinders Island. Police action is seldom required as the community maintains self-policing systems of social control which ensures that social tensions and disputes are quickly resolved.

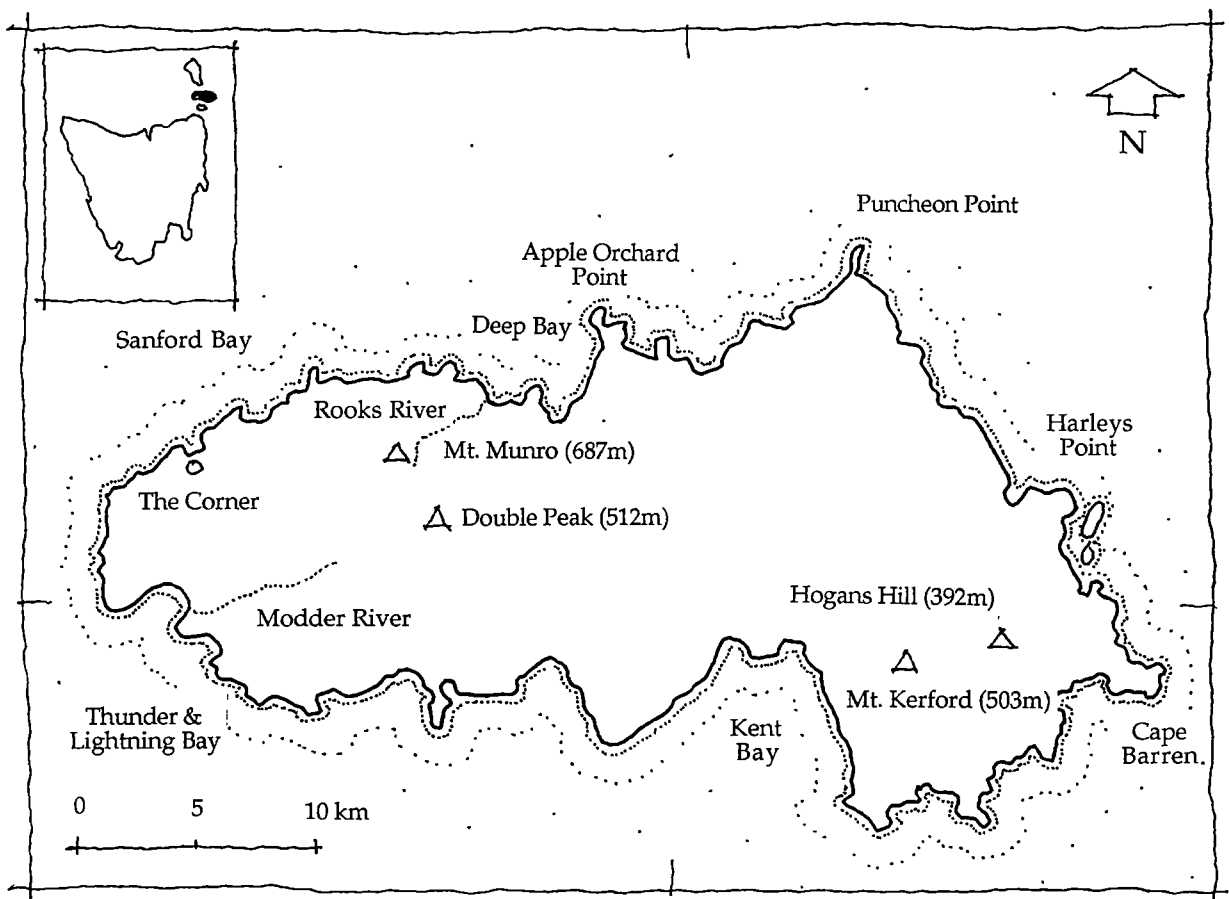
The present fire fighting facilities on the island consist of five fire hydrants located at various areas of The Corner and the fire truck stored at the council depot. A fire hydrant is positioned at both the number one and number two subdivisions. However, there is no fire hydrant located at the third subdivision. The mobile fire unit is an all-terrain vehicle retrofitted with a diesel generator water pump and water storage tanks. Its location is usually within the council depot.

Appendix B

Cape Barren Island Site Analysis

1. Physical Environment

Cape Barren Island is the second largest island of the Furneaux Group. It has an area of 445 sq. km. Granite underlies most of the island and forms peaks exceeding 500 metres in height (Jennings 1974:18). The Mount Munro range in the northwest runs east-west across the island for approximately ten kilometres culminating in Mount Munro (687 m). The Mount Kerford Range in the southeast runs north-south for approximately ten kilometres and peaks at Mount Kerford (503 m).



Map 12. Cape Barren Island
(source: Banks & Smith 1988:74)

On the eastern side of the island there is a low-lying coastal plain, from Puncheon Point in the north to Cape Barren in the south (Banks & Smith 1988:74).

2. Climate

Cape Barren Island has a temperate maritime climate. The average annual rainfall is 710 mm and precipitation is greatest in winter. The island experiences mild temperatures with a maximum in February and a minimum in July. The prevailing wind directions are westerly and northeasterly (Banks & Smith 1988:75).

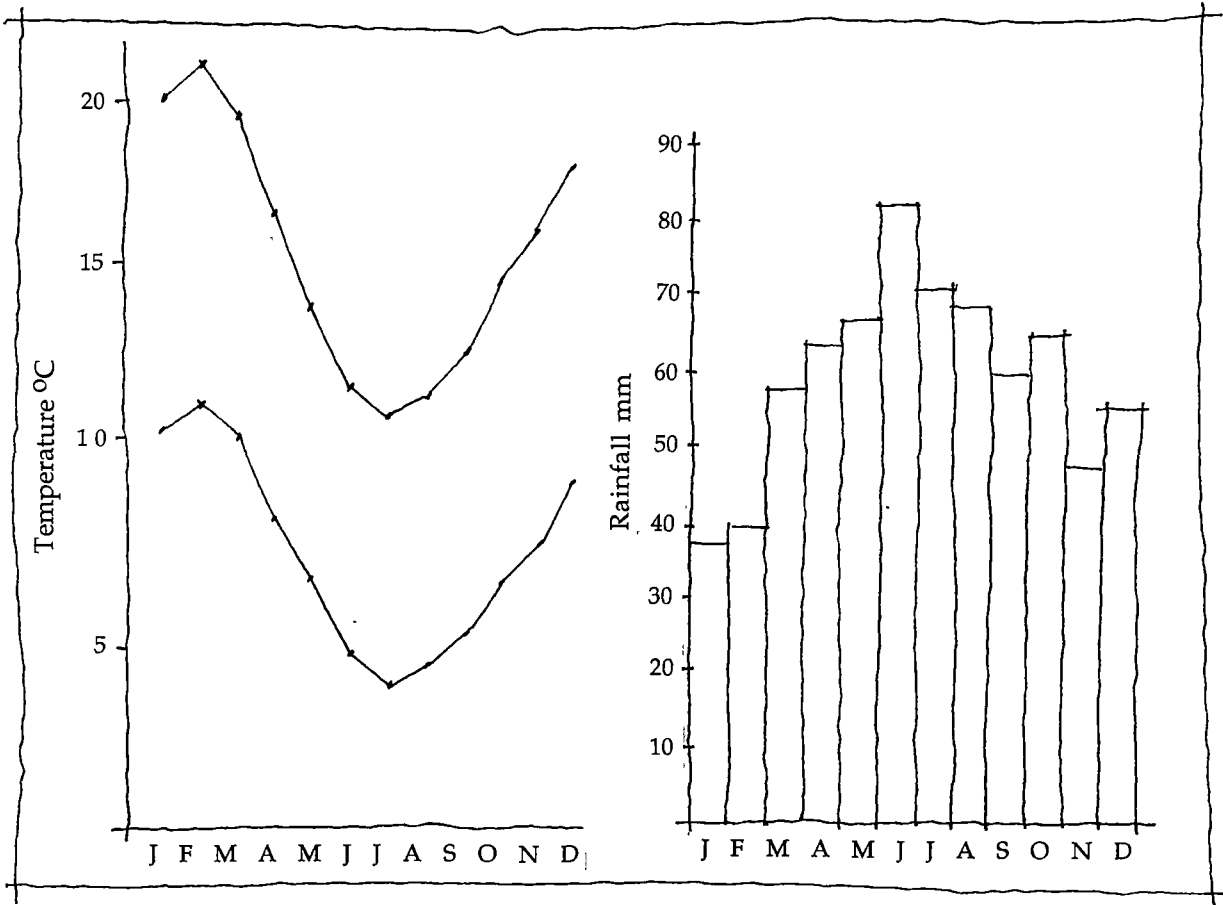
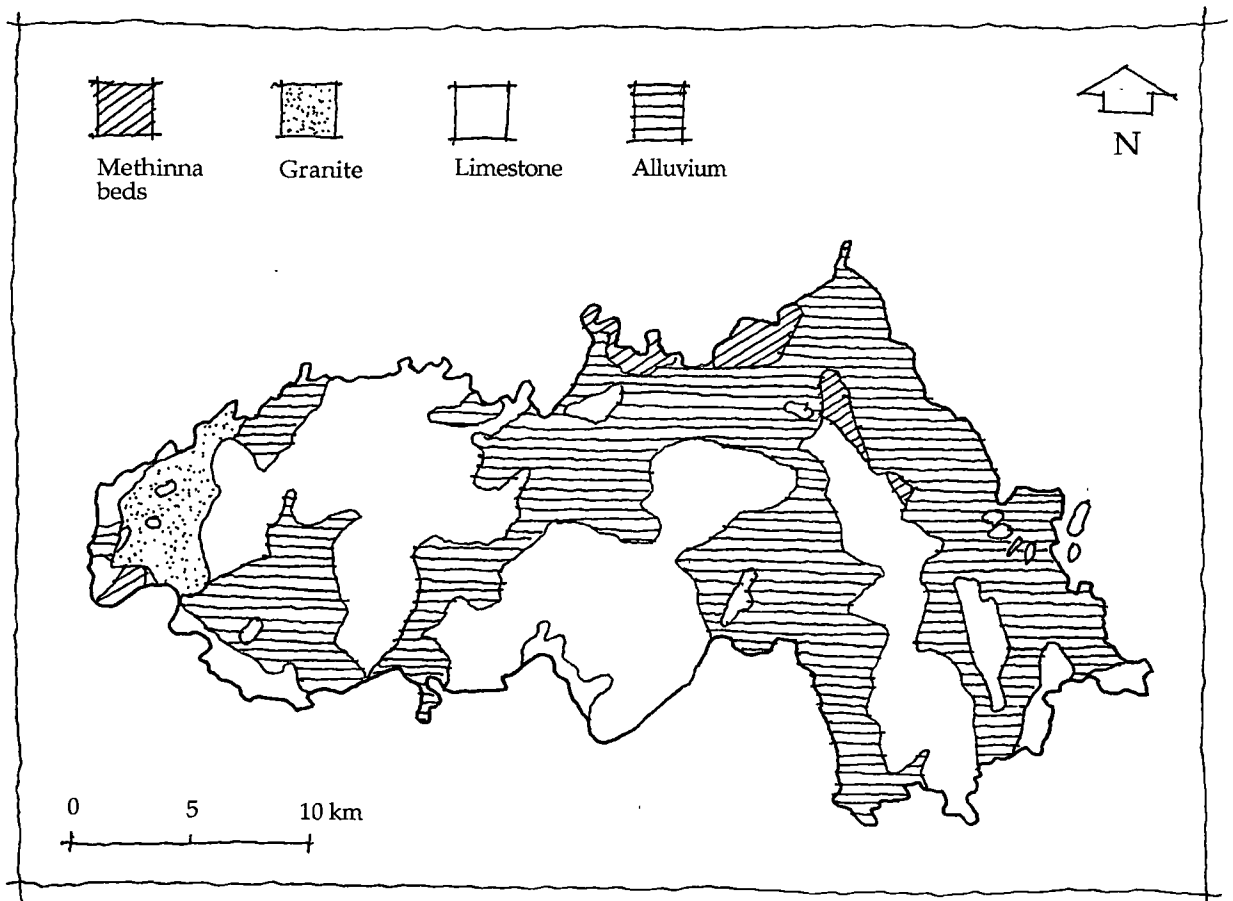


Figure 66. Cape Barren Island Maximum and minimum annual temperature and rainfall.
(source: Banks &Smith 1988:75)

3. Geology and Minerals

The geology of Cape Barren island is similar to that of northeast Tasmania and Wilsons Promontory in Victoria. The oldest rocks on the island are the Mathinna Beds. These are metamorphosed, complex folded beds of sandstone and siltstones of the Devonian age. These occur in an east-west tract from Apple Orchard Point on the north coast, to Harleys Point on the east coast (Banks & Smith 1988:76). In places the granites have been invaded by dolerite dykes. Tertiary deposits on the island are calcareous sandstones and limestones of Miocene age. These deposits lie mainly around The Corner, and the lowlands of western Cape Barren Island (Banks & Smith 1988:76).

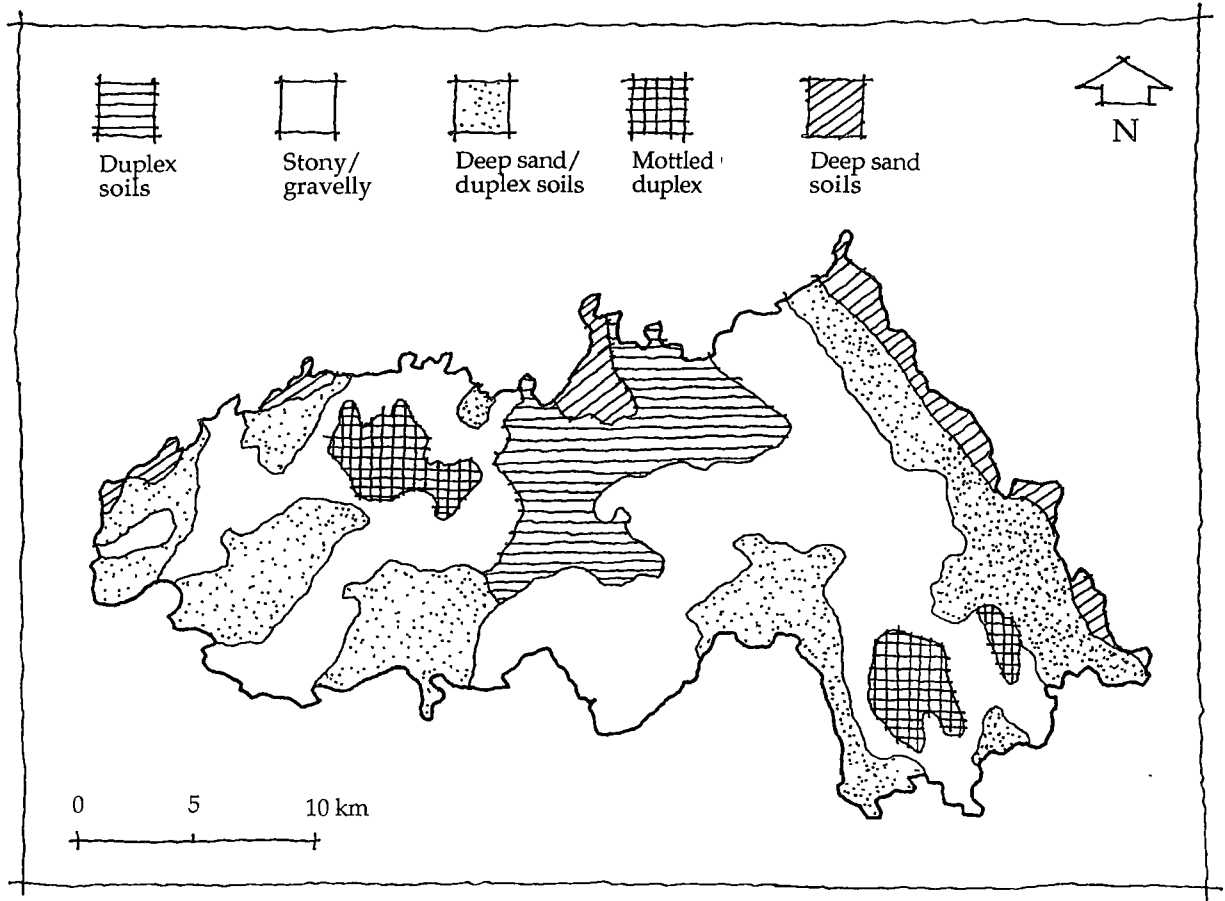


Map 13. Geology of Cape Barren Island (source: Banks & Smith 1988:77)

Fluviatile tin-bearing sediments occur most frequently in the low areas of the island. There is a small isolated outcrop of Tertiary basalt occurring at Lascar Point on the western side of the island. Quaternary sediments on the island consist of Aeolian deposits, marine sediments and alluvium. There are long sand dunes oriented in the direction of the prevailing wind in many low-lying coastal areas (Jennings 1974:20). Sandy sediments occur over much of the coastal areas. The most recent developments include transverse dunes at Thunder and Lightning Bay and Deep Bay, lunettes on the eastern side of the island and a 0.3-1 metres veneer of alluvium and topsoil which blankets the valleys. Traces of gold, graphite and molybdenum, topaz, amethyst, garnet, opal, marcasite, rutile and quartz have been identified in the island (Banks & Smith 1988:76).

4. Soils

On the eastern, southern and some parts of the western areas of the island, the soils are deep with ridges of pale yellow sand, sometimes in the form of low coastal dunes. The sandy soil on the flats has an iron organic layer at depth, while the sands on the gently sloping plain are mottled. In the central part of the island there are large areas of stony and gravelly soils, with rock outcrops occurring frequently. In places the granite soils are overlaid by windblown sand. In the Lee River and Dover River areas there are rock outcrops on the crests and upper slopes. Duplex soils are found on the mid-slopes while clay soils are found on the lowest areas (Banks & Smith 1988:76). On the extreme eastern coastal area and at places along the northern coast, deep sandy soils have developed. The calcareous sands close to the beaches are undifferentiated and are subject to wave erosion (Jennings 1974:19).



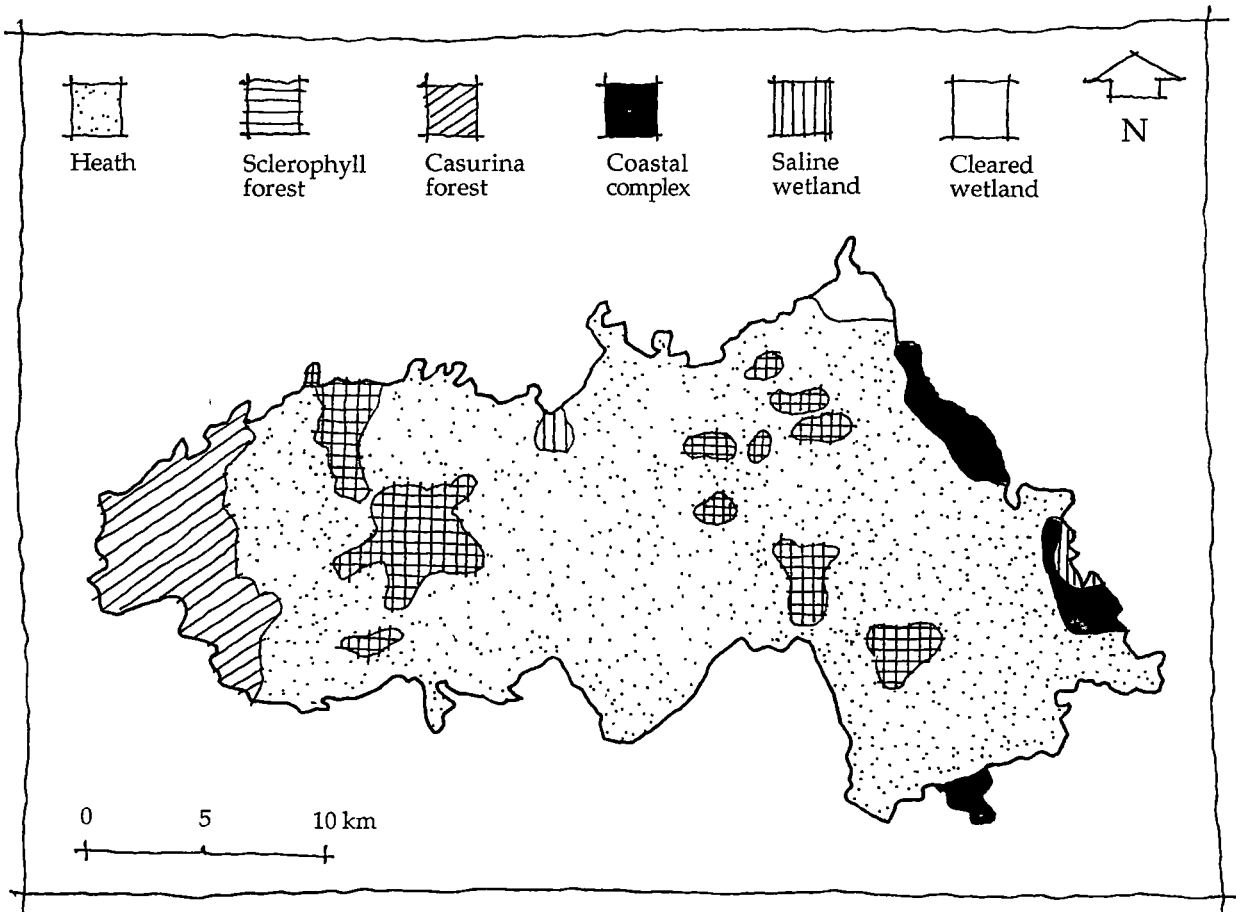
Map 14. Soils of Cape Barren Island.

(source: Banks & Smith 1988:77)

In the area around Mount Munro mottled duplex soils are found. The surface soil is gravelly, while red mottlings are evident at depth, particularly in the soils on the crests and steep upper slopes. Overall, the island's soils are poorly developed (Boland 1981:63).

5. Vegetation

The vegetation of Cape Barren Island shares characteristics similar to those of the Tasmanian and Australian mainlands. It consists largely of coastal heathlands with smaller areas of dry sclerophyll forest and woodland. Many areas have been affected by repeated scrub fires resulting in immature vegetation (Banks & Smith 1988:76). There is a predominance of grasstree with an understorey of shrubs and sedges. Significant land clearing has occurred around Puncheon Point, Apple Orchard Point, and on the western side of the island near The Corner. In the lowland portions of the island there are large areas of heath.



Map 15. Vegetation of Cape Barren Island
(source: Banks & Smith 1988:78)

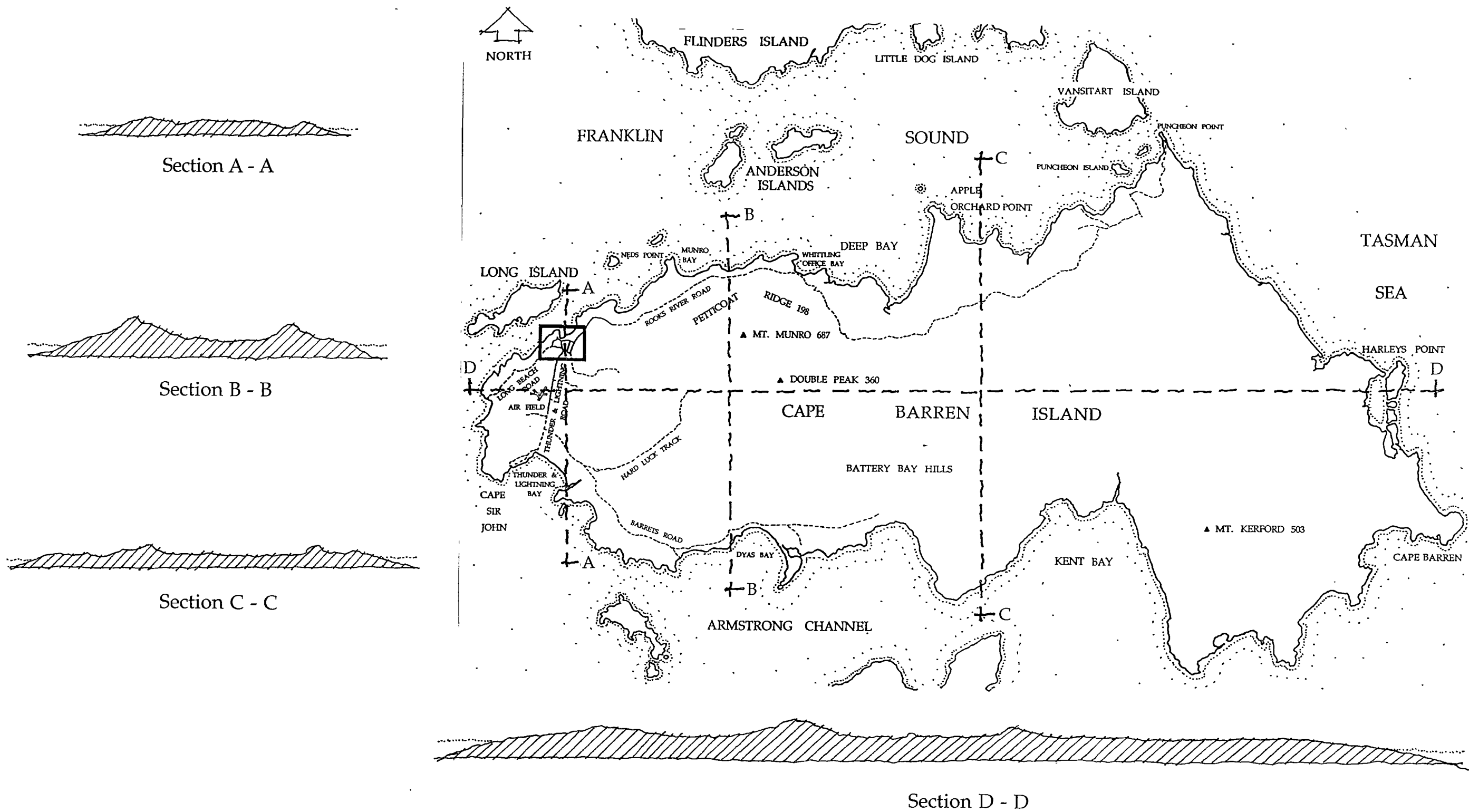
In the drier areas of the lowlands, the larger species are the Smithton peppermint, the grasstree, silver banksia and the Tasmanian teatree (Boland 1981:65). The smaller species in the drier areas include wiry bauera, swamp beardheath, guinea flower and hairy boronia.

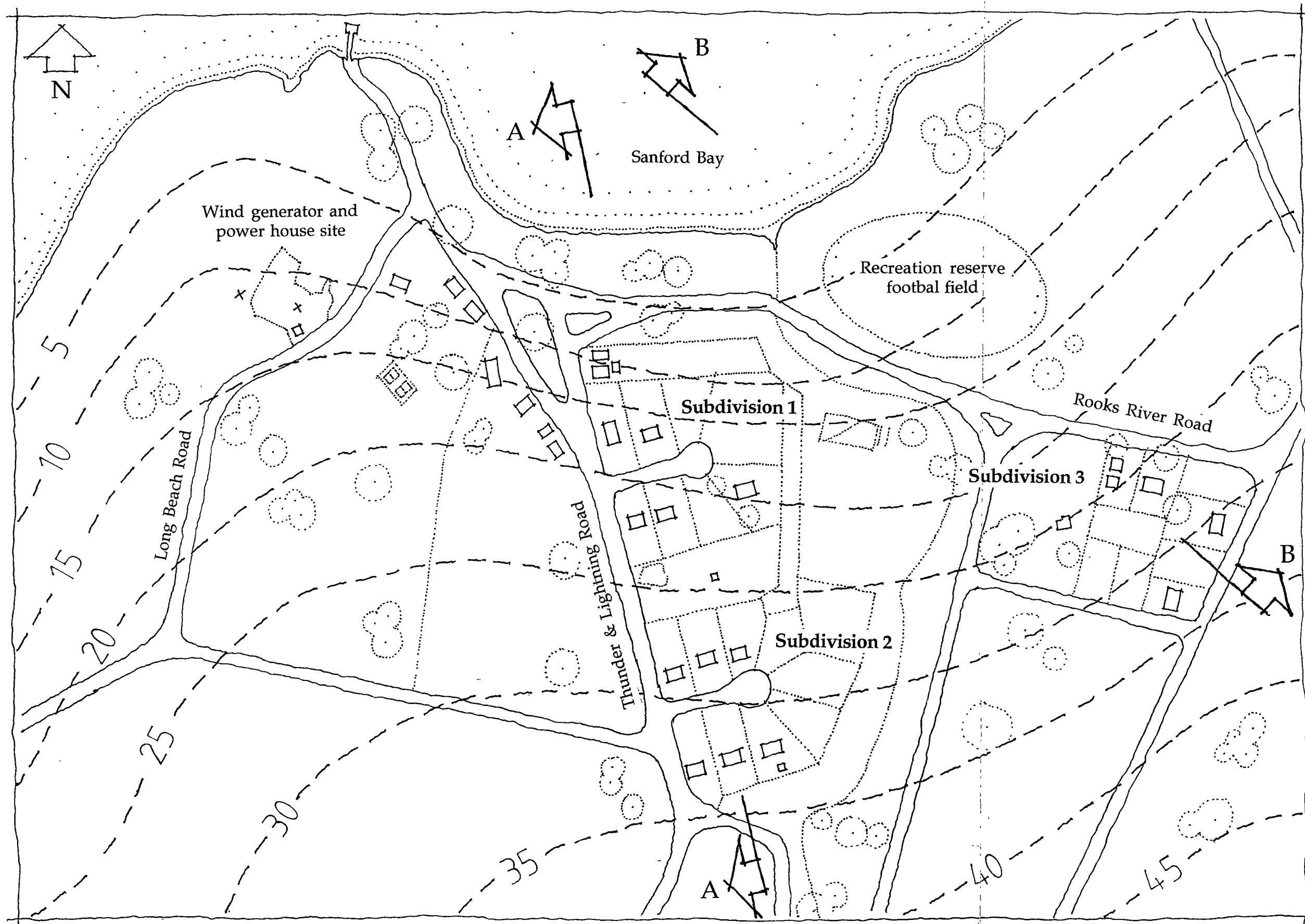
Common herbs in these areas include bogrush, climbing sundew, and the slender bogrush. In the wetter areas of the lowlands there are scented paperbarks and manuka. Smaller species include the large flowered rapier sedge and the pink swampheath (Boland 1981:68).

There are also a number of herbs in these areas, such as the angled lobelia and the tufted centrolepis. In the higher areas, such as Mount Munro and Mount Kerford, there are small outcrops of eucalyptus forest, survivors of frequent scrub fires. These forests contain the manna gum and the blue gum. The manfern, dogwood and blackwood are commonly found in the understorey. Salt marshes are found on the extreme eastern margins of the island. These marshes usually include species such as *Cotula reptans*, *Eryngium vesciculosum* and *Sellieria radicans* (Boland 1981:69).

6. Fauna

Five native animals have been recorded on the island and a further four species have been found in fossil deposits. The five extant mammals are the bush wallaby, pademalon, ringtail possum, echidna, and the eastern swamp rat. The four mammals recorded from fossil deposits are the potoroo, tiger cat, brown bandicoot, and the wombat. Introduced mammals on the island include the house mouse, ship's rat, domestic cat, dog, sheep, cow, horse and goat. There are seventy one bird species recorded from the island. The Cape Barren goose has been recorded as occurring on the island but not breeding successfully there. The tawny-crowned honeyeater has been recorded on the island and also the orange-bellied parrot. Overall, the fauna assemblage remains poorly studied (Banks & Smith 1988:78).





Map 17. Contour map of The Corner, Cape Barren Island township.
Contours at five metre intervals. Scale 1:10,000 (Source: C. Zidak, 1995)

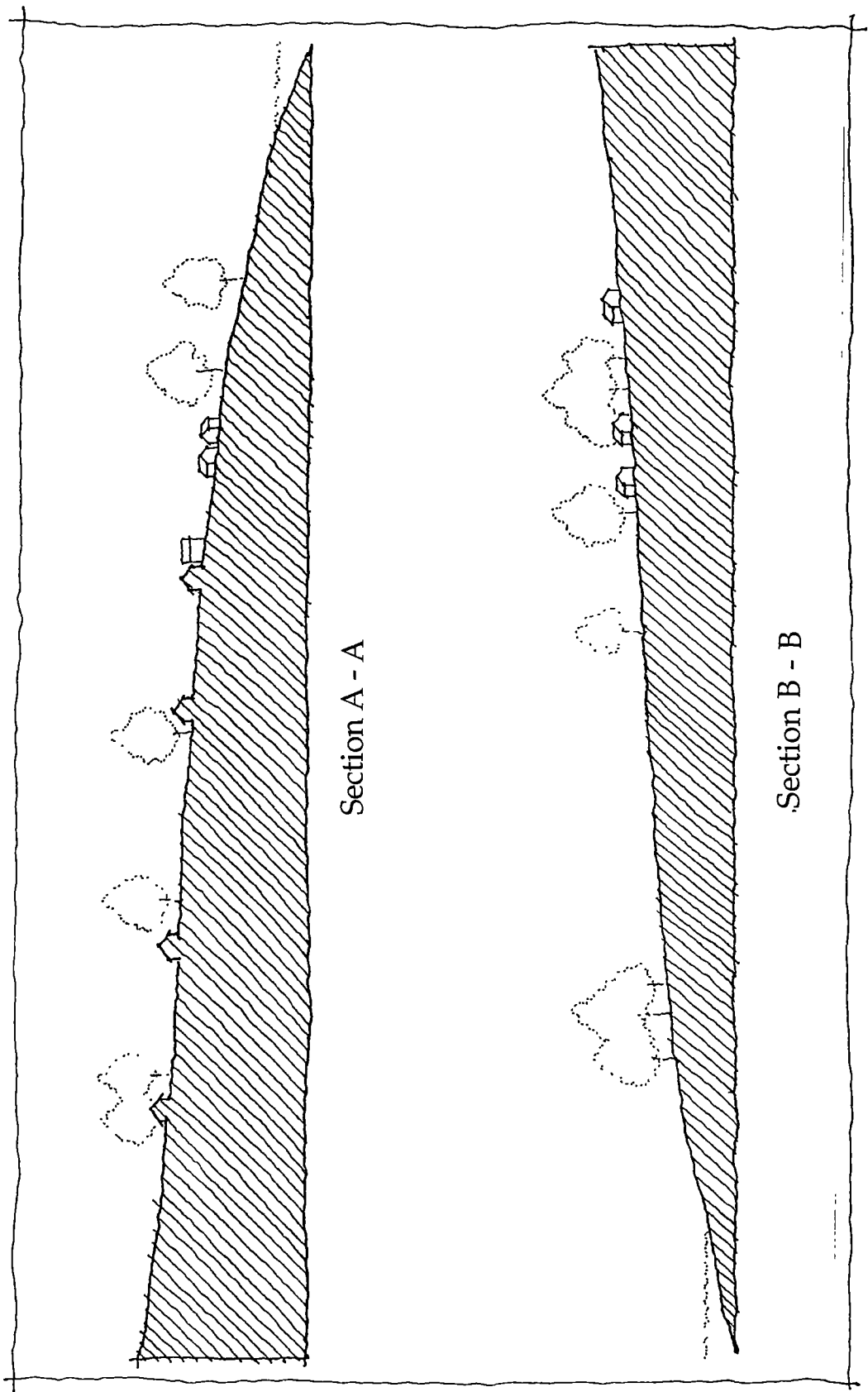


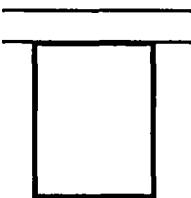
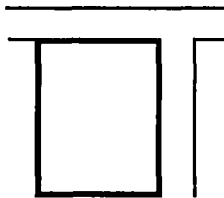
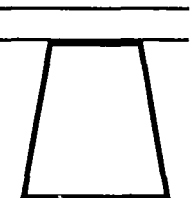
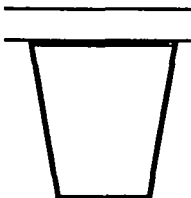
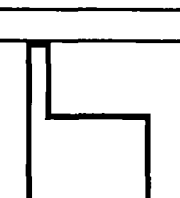
Figure 67. The Corner Site Sections from the contour map, page 138.
Scale 1:10,000 (Source: C. Zidak, 1995)

Appendix C Part (i)

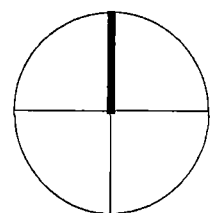
Post-Occupancy Evaluation: Aboriginal Dwellings on Cape Barren Island

The post-occupancy evaluation of Cape Barren Island dwellings is divided into two sections. The first part involves an evaluation checklist for data collection of the site characteristics upon which the dwelling was built and features of the dwelling. The second part involves recording the type and location of existing dwellings of The Corner. The post-occupancy evaluation conducted of dwellings was based upon the visual observations of the site, site services, interior and exterior condition of the dwelling, testing of fixtures and fittings.




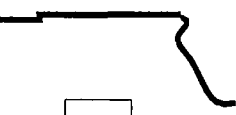
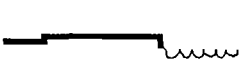
SITE TYPE

				
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Orientation



SITE PROFILE

				
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Flood potential
Landslip potential
Mine subsistence

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

SITE ENVIRONMENT

Fire Hazard:

Adjoining vegetation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adjoining properties	<input type="checkbox"/>
On-site Hazard	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local topography effect	<input type="checkbox"/>

Adjoining Property
Development:

Sun/shade problem
Views inhibited
Privacy invasion
Noise invasion
Development proposals

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

Wind/Exposure:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
very exposed	exposed	moderate	sheltered

Overhanging trees:

Adjoining property
On site

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

Noise: Sources

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Industrial	Air traffic	Road traffic
Other: _____		





Sun/shade:

Acceptable winter
Acceptable summer
Extensive shading: winter
Intense sun exp: summer

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

SITE ACCESS

Vehicle Access: Good ☐ Difficult ☐ None ☐

Slope		From Street	Turn Area	Park Area
1:20				
1:15				
1:9				
1:6				

Access difficulties:

Vision ☐
Parking ☐
Turning ☐
Other: _____

Garage:

Lock up garage ☐
Covered space ☐
Park space not driveway ☐
Internal access ☐

No. of spaces _____
No. of spaces _____
No. of spaces _____

SITE SERVICES

Sewerage: Sewer ☐ Septic ☐ Pump out ☐ Night soil ☐

Relevant Authority: _____

Water: Mains ☐ Tank ☐ Bore ☐ Dam ☐

Relevant Authority: _____

Gas: Natural town gas ☐ L.P.G (Bottle) ☐

Relevant Authority: _____

Electricity: Overhead supply ☐ Underground supply ☐

Relevant Authority: _____

Generator: Diesel ☐
Electric ☐
Wind ☐

Garbage collect: Available ☐ Not applicable ☐

Telephone: Overhead supply ☐ Underground supply ☐

Not connected ☐

Relevant Authority: _____

GENERAL

Age of dwelling: _____ yrs.

Age of Extension/s: _____ yrs. / N.A. Type of extn. Side ☐ Back ☐ Upper Floor ☐ Other: _____

Type of construction: Brick veneer ☐ Timber frame ☐ Steel frame ☐ Composite ☐ Other: _____

Number of storeys: single ☐ Two ☐ Split level ☐ Basement ☐ Attic ☐

Style of dwelling: Contemp 40s ☐ Contemp 50s ☐ Contemp 60s ☐ Contemp 70s ☐ Contemp 80s ☐

SUN/SHADE

	Winter		Summer		Daylighting		Ventilation	
	a.m.	p.m.	a.m.	p.m.	good	poor	good	poor
Bedroom 1								
Bedroom 2								
Bedroom 3								
Bathroom								
Toilet								
Kitchen area								
Dining area								
Living area								
Courtyard								
Deck/patio								
Backyard								
Frontyard								
Side yard								

Extent of privacy	Private	Semi-private	Exposed	Street	Neighbours	Front	Porch	Side	Other:
Bedroom 1									
Bedroom 2									
Bedroom 3									
Bathroom									
Kitchen area									
Dining area									
Living area									
Courtyard									
Deck/patio									
Backyard									
Frontyard									
Side yard									

EXTERIOR CONDITION

BASE	Footings	Structure	Surface Finishes	Condition
	Base Structure			
	Floor			
	Steps			
WALLS	Structure			
	Cladding			
	Openings			
	Lintels			
	Verandahs			
ROOF	Structure			
	Roof cover			
	Roof Drainage			
	Eaves			

INTERIOR CONDITION

	Structure				Finishes							Openings: doors			
	Floor	Walls	Ceiling	code	Floor	Wall	Ceiling	Cornice	Skirting	Stairs	Code	Finish	Frames	Hardware	Code
Bedroom 1															
Bedroom 2															
Bedroom 3															
Bedroom 4															
Bathroom															
Kitchen area															
Dining area															
Living area															
Toilet															
Utility area															
Other															

CONDITION CODE

Poor 3; Acceptable 2; Excellent 1.

MATERIAL CODE

Timber	T	Linoleum	L
Concrete	C	Vinyls	V
Brick	B	Ceramic tiles	CT
Stone	S	Exposed Floorboards	EFB
Concrete Block	CB	Treated Timber panel	TTP
Fibrous Cement Sheet	FCS	Painted surfaces	+P
Plasterboard	PB	Unfinished surfaces	- E
Carpet	W		
Paint	P		

	Power points	Light switches	Light fittings	Cold water taps	Hot water taps	Built in cupboards	H. W. Unit location	Heater
Bedroom 1								
Bedroom 2								
Bedroom 3								
Bedroom 4								
Bathroom								
Kitchen area								
Dining area								
Living area								
Toilet								
Utility area								
Other								
Kitchen	Sink	Dishwasher	Exhaust Fan	Stove	Hot Plates	Oven	Microwave oven	Other
Bathroom	W.C.	Basin	Vanity Unit	Bath/ Shower	Bath	Shower	Heater	Other
Utility	Tubs	Washing machine	Dryer	Other				

AUXILIARY BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES

Structure	Finish	Condition	Structure	Finish	Condition
Garage/Carport			Toilets		
Verandahs			T.V. Antenna		
Fences			Exterior Services		
Shed			Other:		

Appendix C
Part (ii)

Post-Occupancy Evaluation:
Dwelling Survey

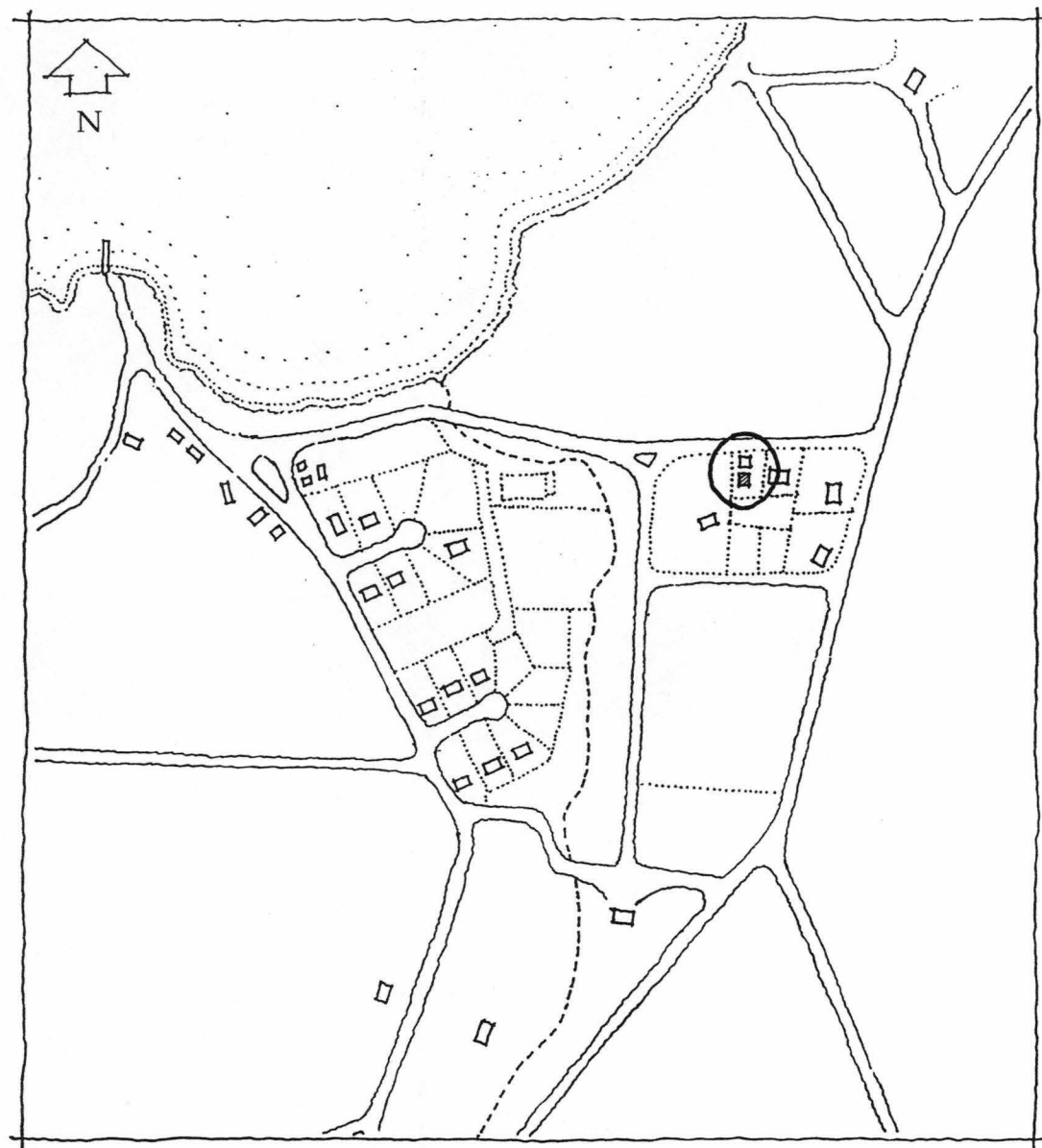



Figure 68.

Location Plan (scale 1: 3,000)

 - Indicates same dwelling type

Dwelling type:

Two bedroom Government Housing Commission Unit.

Status:

Single occupancy.

Date of construction: 1986.

Construction:

Brick construction on concrete slab.

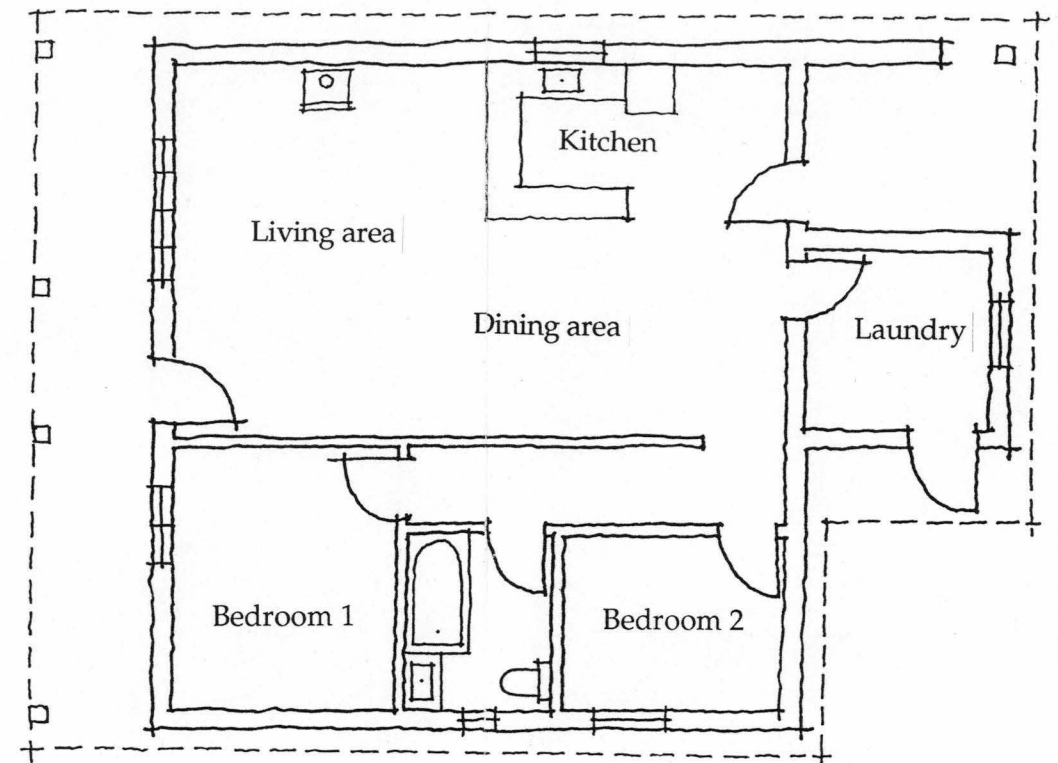
Cladding -

External: Zincalume sheet roofing.

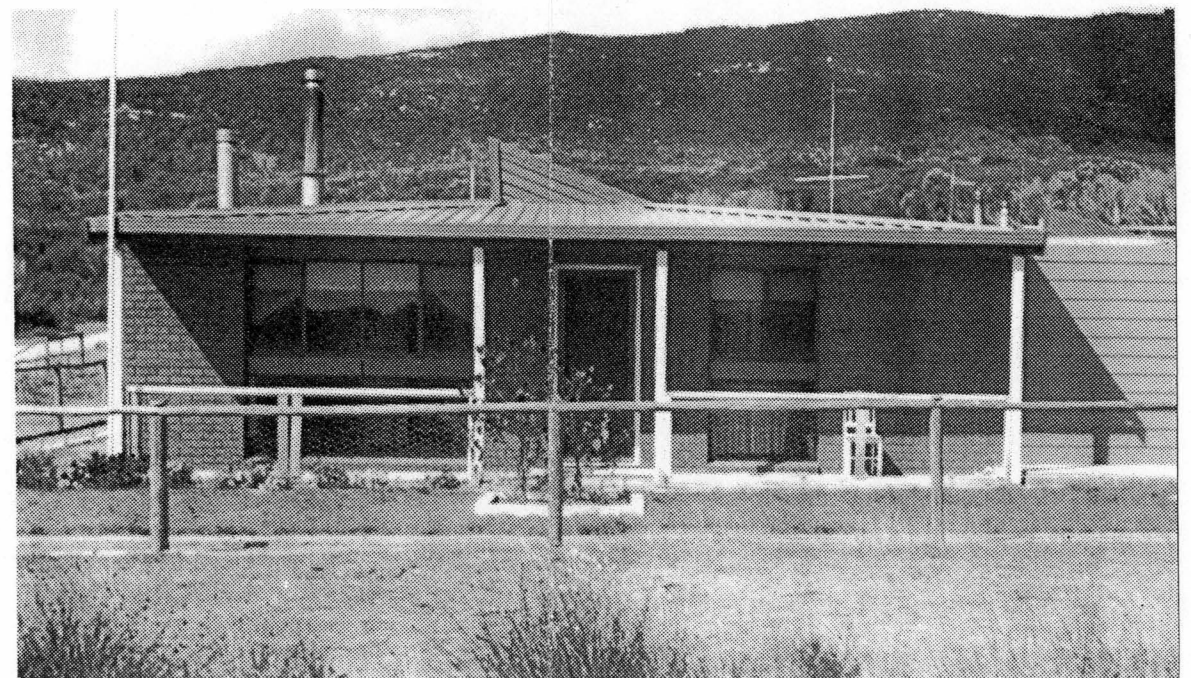
Internal: Timber framed plasterboard walls with painted surfaces.

All measurements in millimetres

(source: C. Zidak, 1996)



Plan (scale 1: 100)



Elevation (not to scale)

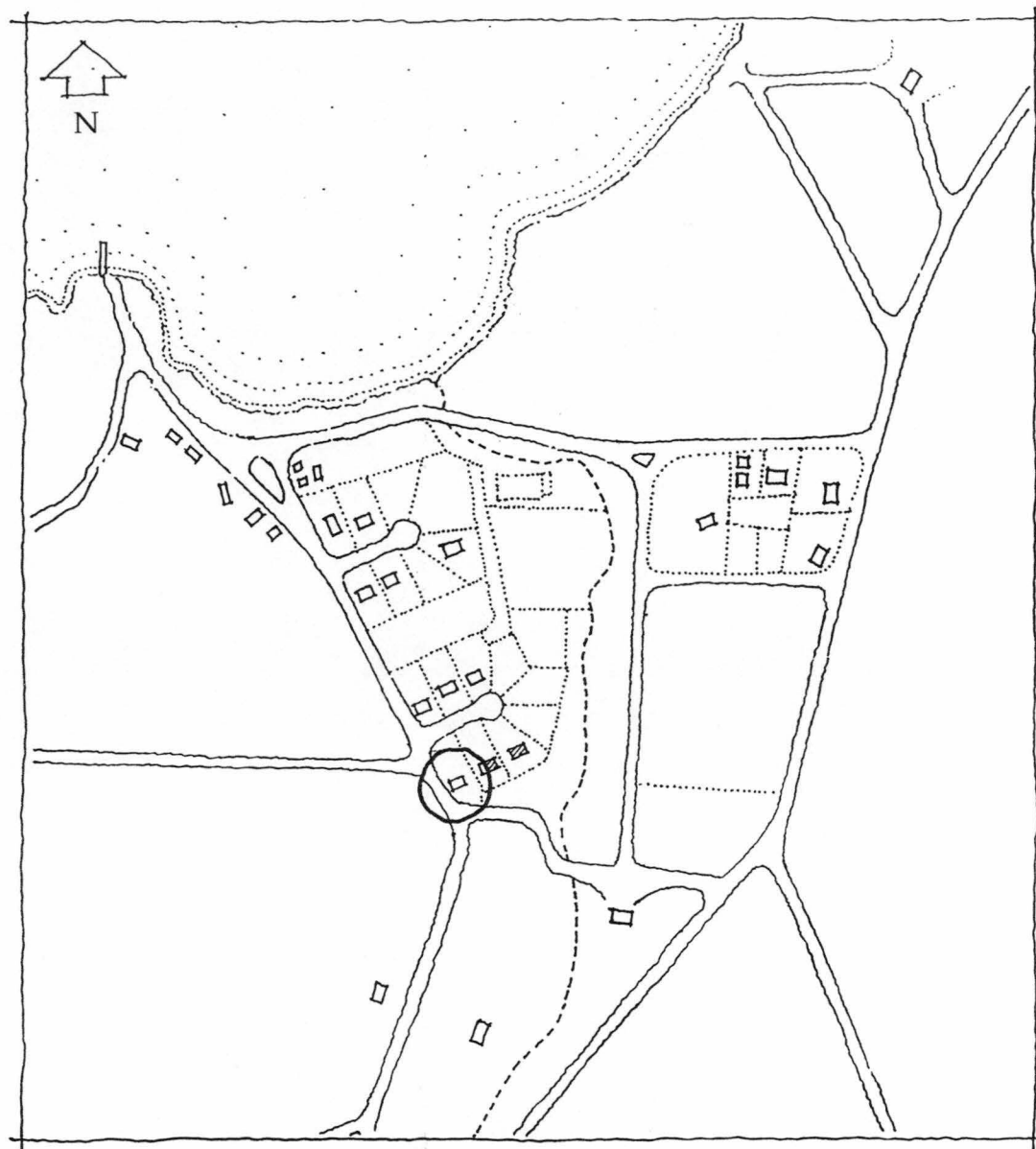



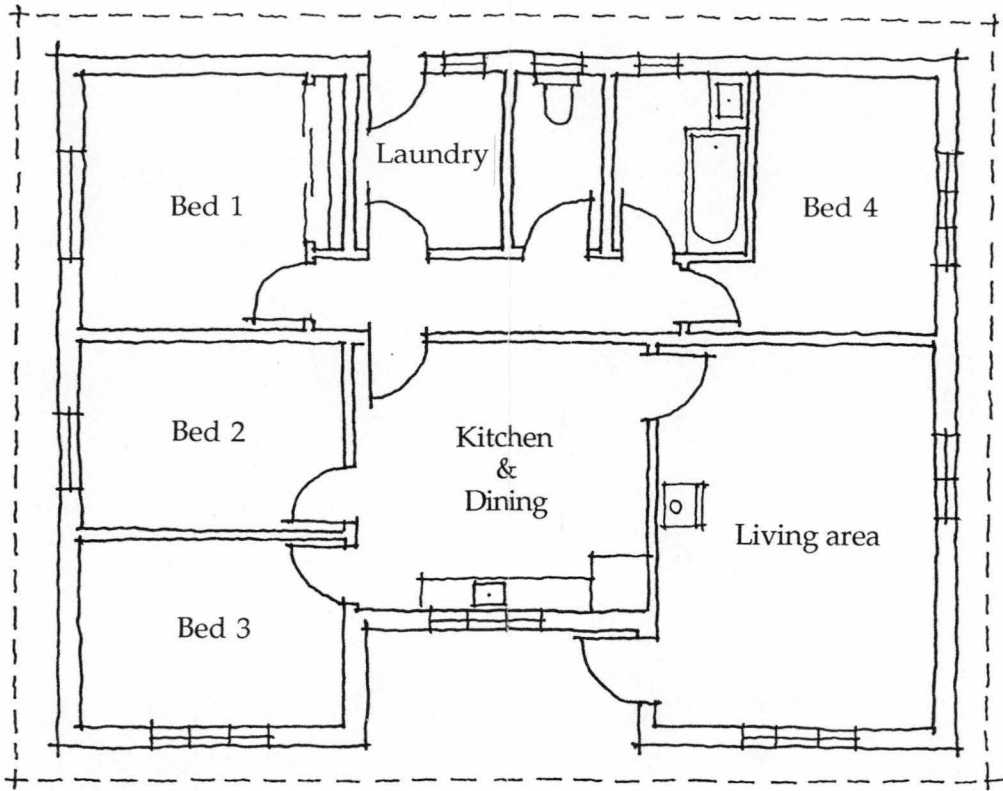
Figure 69.

Location Plan (scale 1: 3,000)

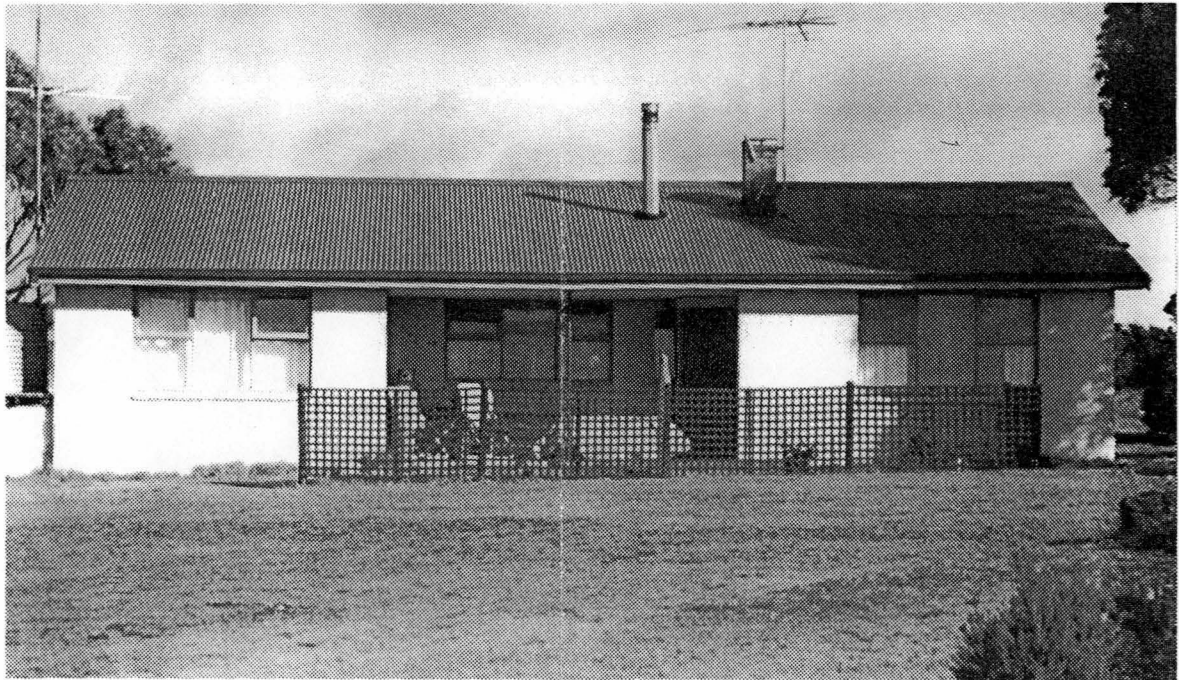
 - Indicates same dwelling type

Dwelling type: Four bedroom Government Housing Commission dwelling.
Current Status: Single occupancy.
Date of construction: 1974.
Construction: Concrete block on concrete slab.
Cladding - External: Colourbond sheet roofing.
Internal: Timber framed plasterboard walls with painted surfaces.

All measurements in millimetres
(source: C. Zidak, 1996)



Plan (scale 1: 100)



Elevation (not to scale)

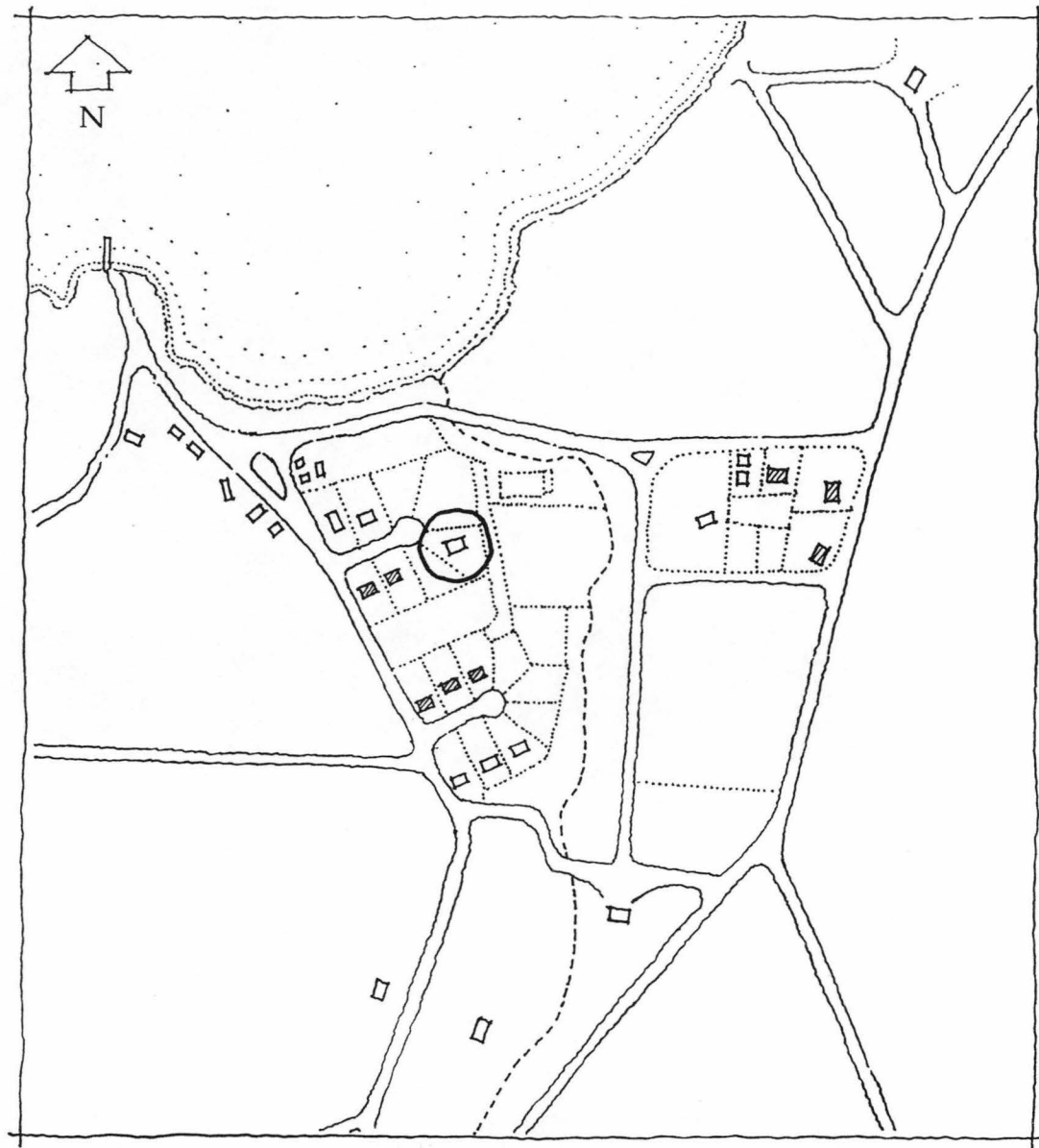



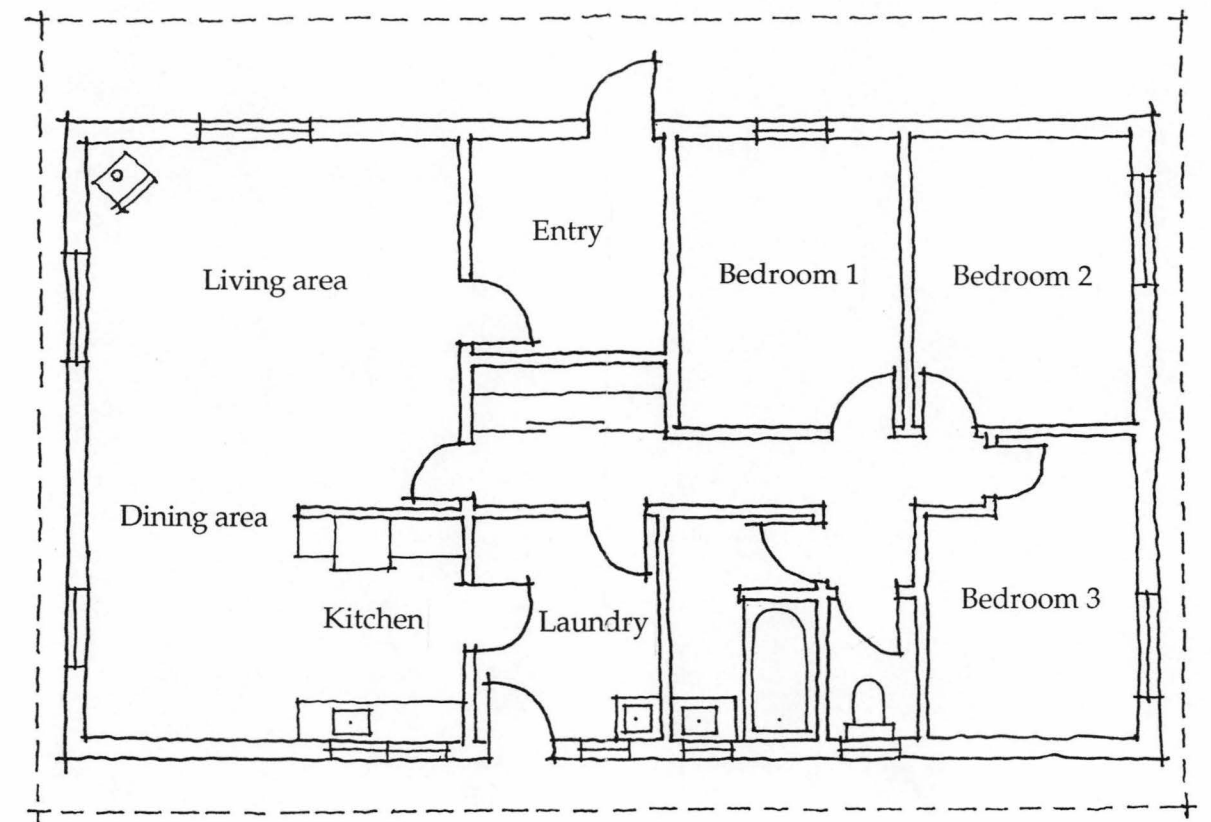
Figure 70.

Location Plan (scale 1: 3,000)

 - Indicates same dwelling type

Dwelling type: Three bedroom Government Housing Commission dwelling.
 Current Status: 7 person occupancy.
 Date of construction: 1980.
 Construction: Steel frame on concrete slab.
 Cladding - External: Fibre cement sheet walls and Zinalume sheet roofing.
 Internal: Fibre cement sheet walls with painted surfaces.

All measurements in millimetres
 (source: C. Zidak, 1996)

**Plan** (scale 1: 100)**Elevation** (not to scale)

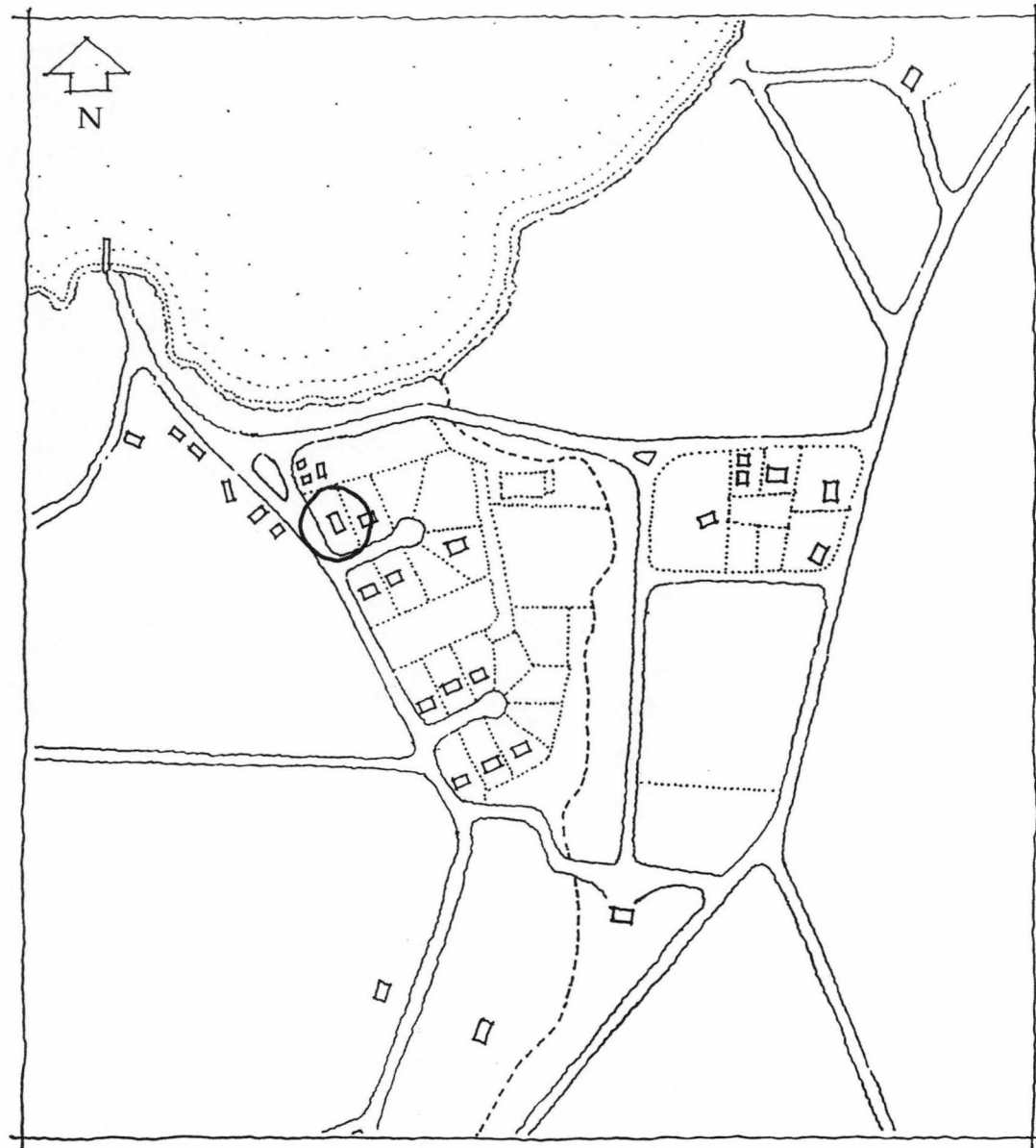
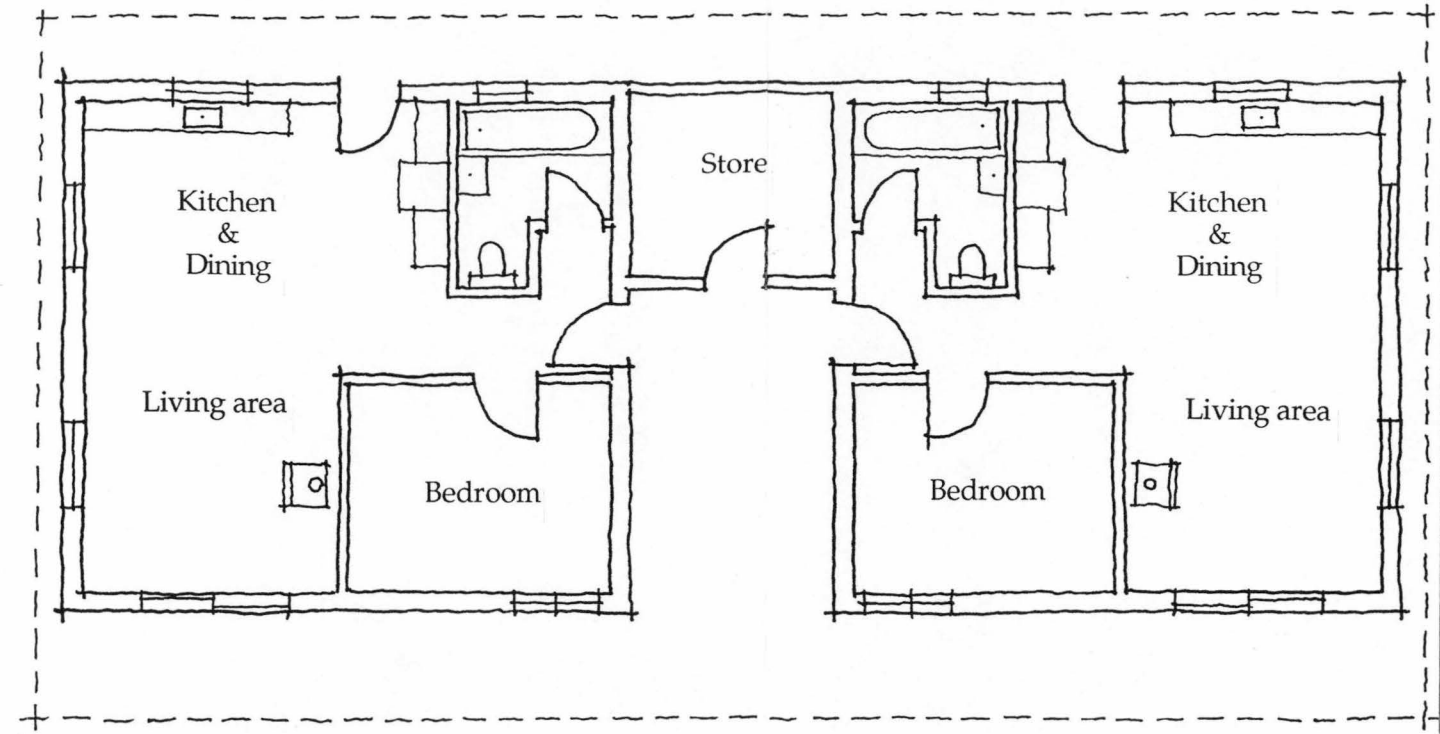
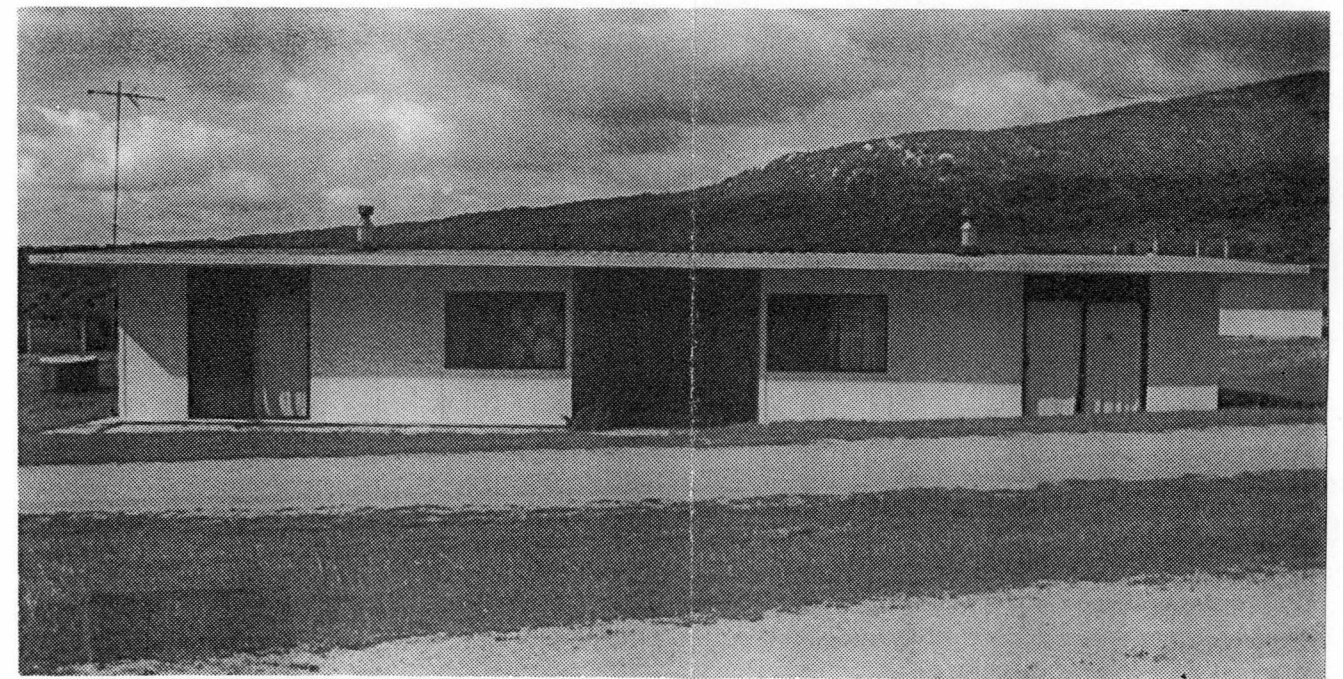


Figure 71.

Location Plan (scale 1: 3,000)

Dwelling type:	Duplex single bedroom Government Housing Commission Unit.
Current Status:	Dual occupancy.
Date of construction:	1982.
Construction:	Steel frame on concrete slab.
Cladding -	External: Fibre cement sheet walls and Zinalume sheet roofing.
	Internal: Timber framed plasterboard walls with painted surfaces.

All measurements in millimetres
(source: C. Zidak, 1996)

**Plan** (scale 1: 100)**Elevation** (not to scale)

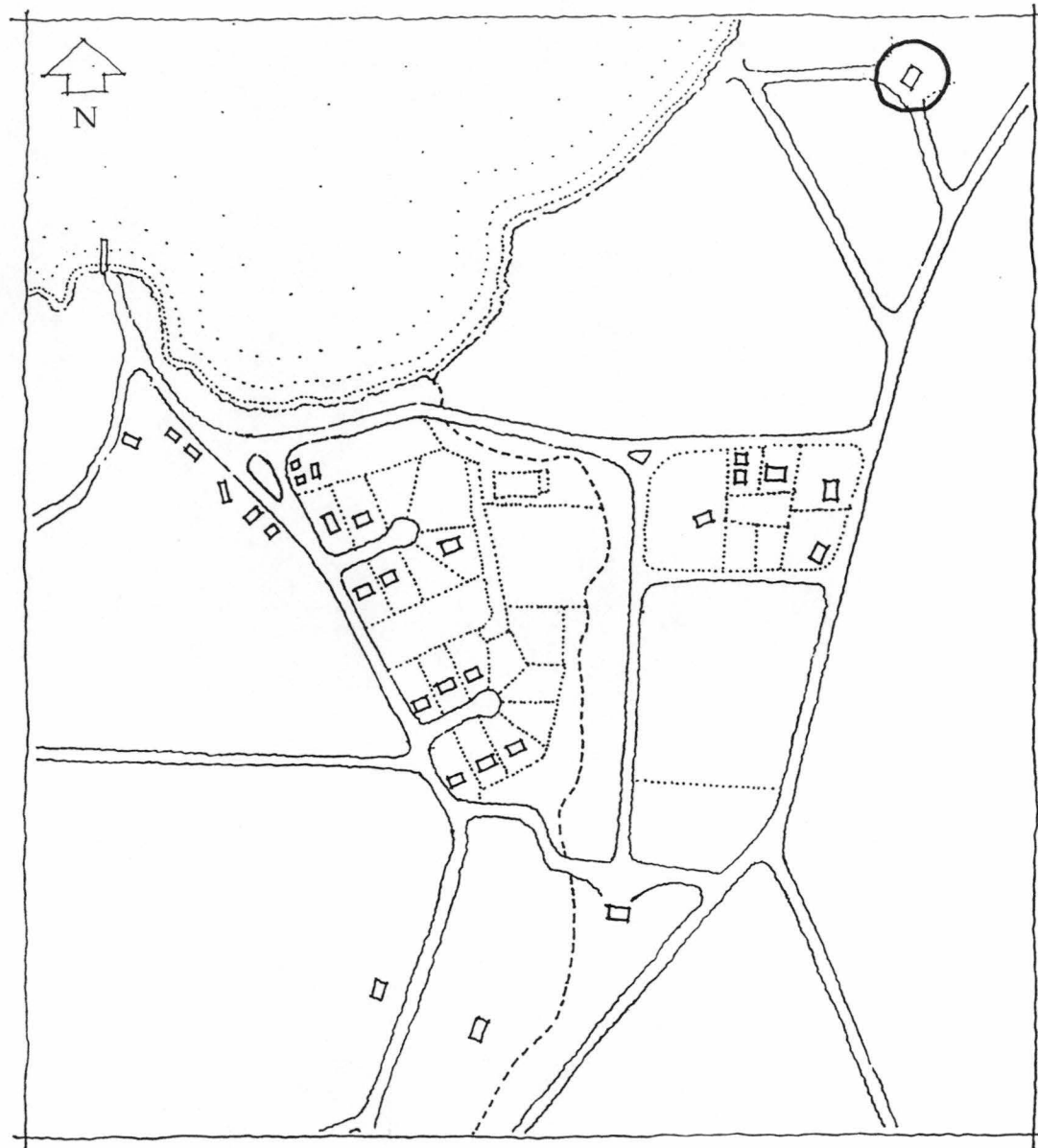
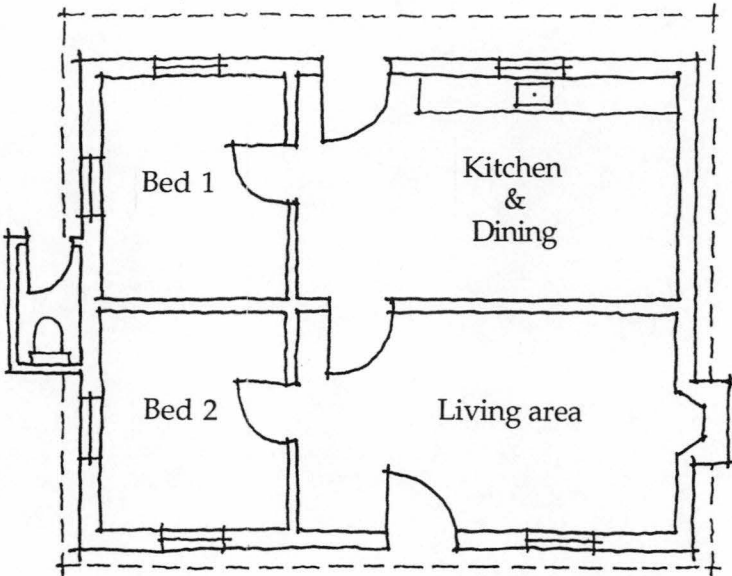


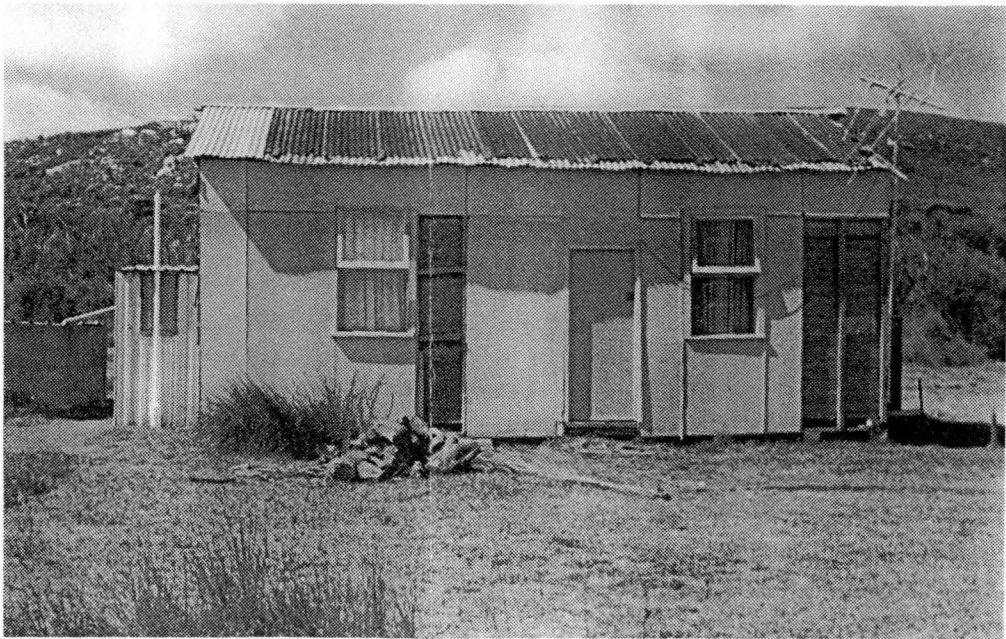
Figure 72. **Location Plan** (scale 1: 3,000)

Dwelling type:	Two bedroom owner-built house.
Current Status:	Single occupancy.
Date of construction:	1927.
Construction:	Timber stud frame on timber floor.
Cladding -	External: Fibre cement sheet walls and corrugated steel roofing Internal: Timber framed walls with newspapered surfaces.

All measurements in millimetres
(source: C. Zidak, 1996)



Plan (scale 1: 100)



Elevation (not to scale)

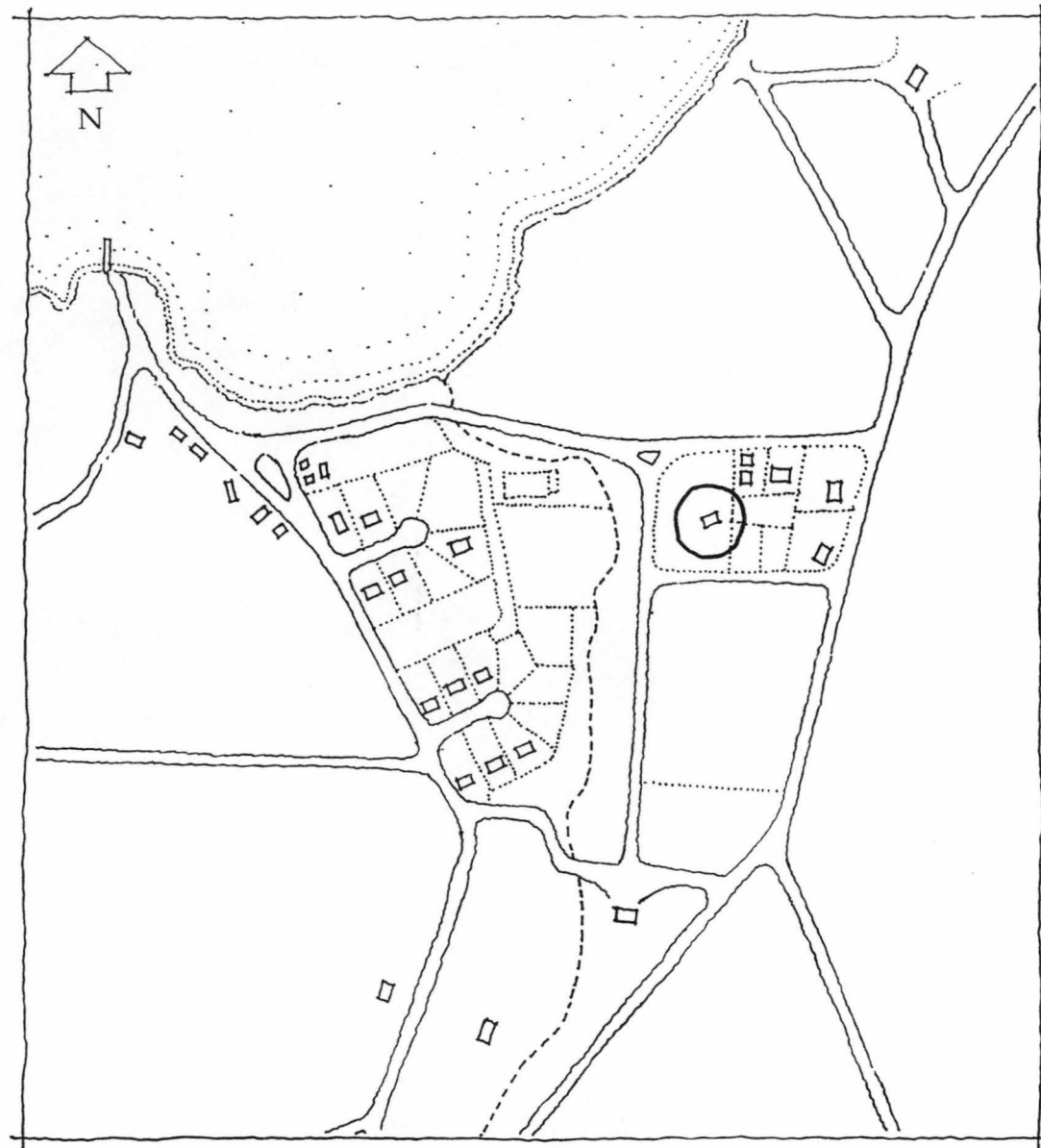


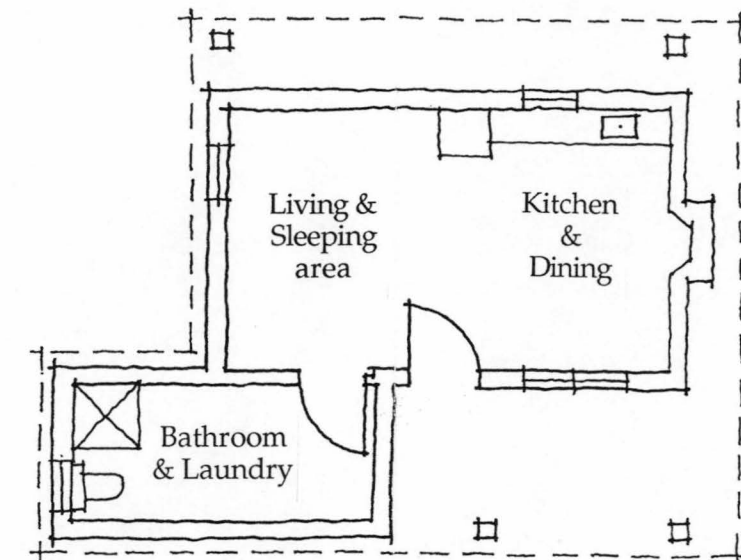
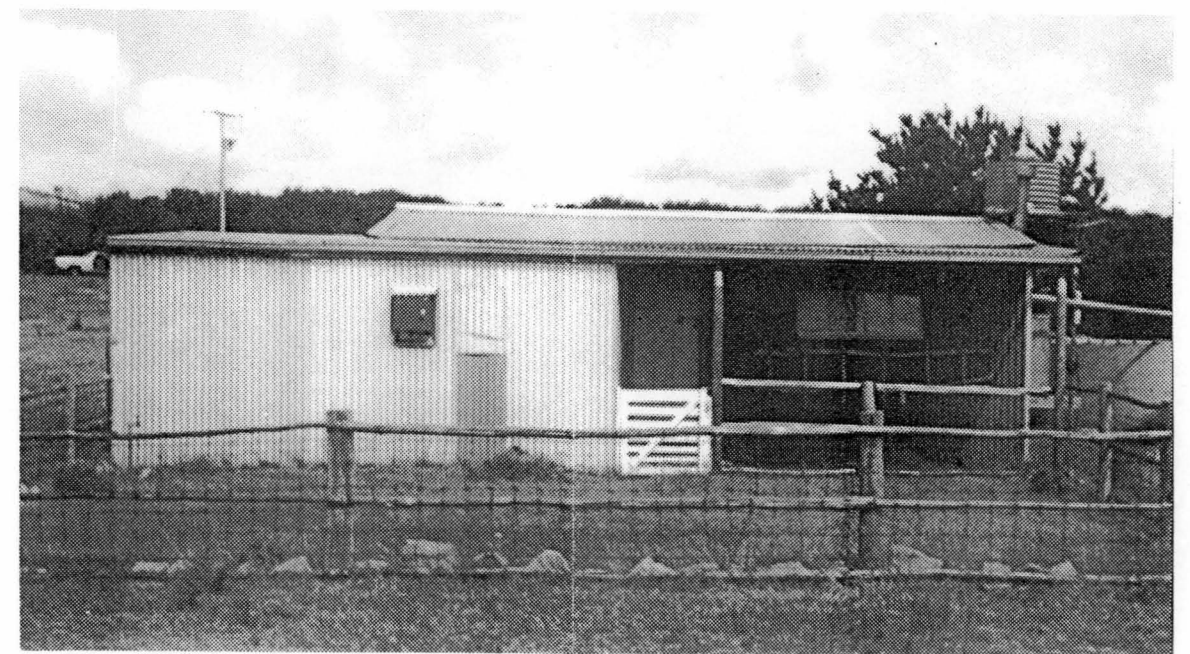
Figure 73.

Location Plan (scale 1: 3,000)

Dwelling type:	Open plan-one bedroom owner-built house.
Current Status:	Single occupancy.
Date of construction:	1961.
Construction:	Timber stud frame construction on concrete slab.
Cladding -	External: Corrugated steel sheet walls and roofing. Internal: Exposed corrugated steel sheeting.

All measurements in millimetres

(source: C. Zidak, 1996)

**Plan** (scale 1: 100)**Elevation** (not to scale)

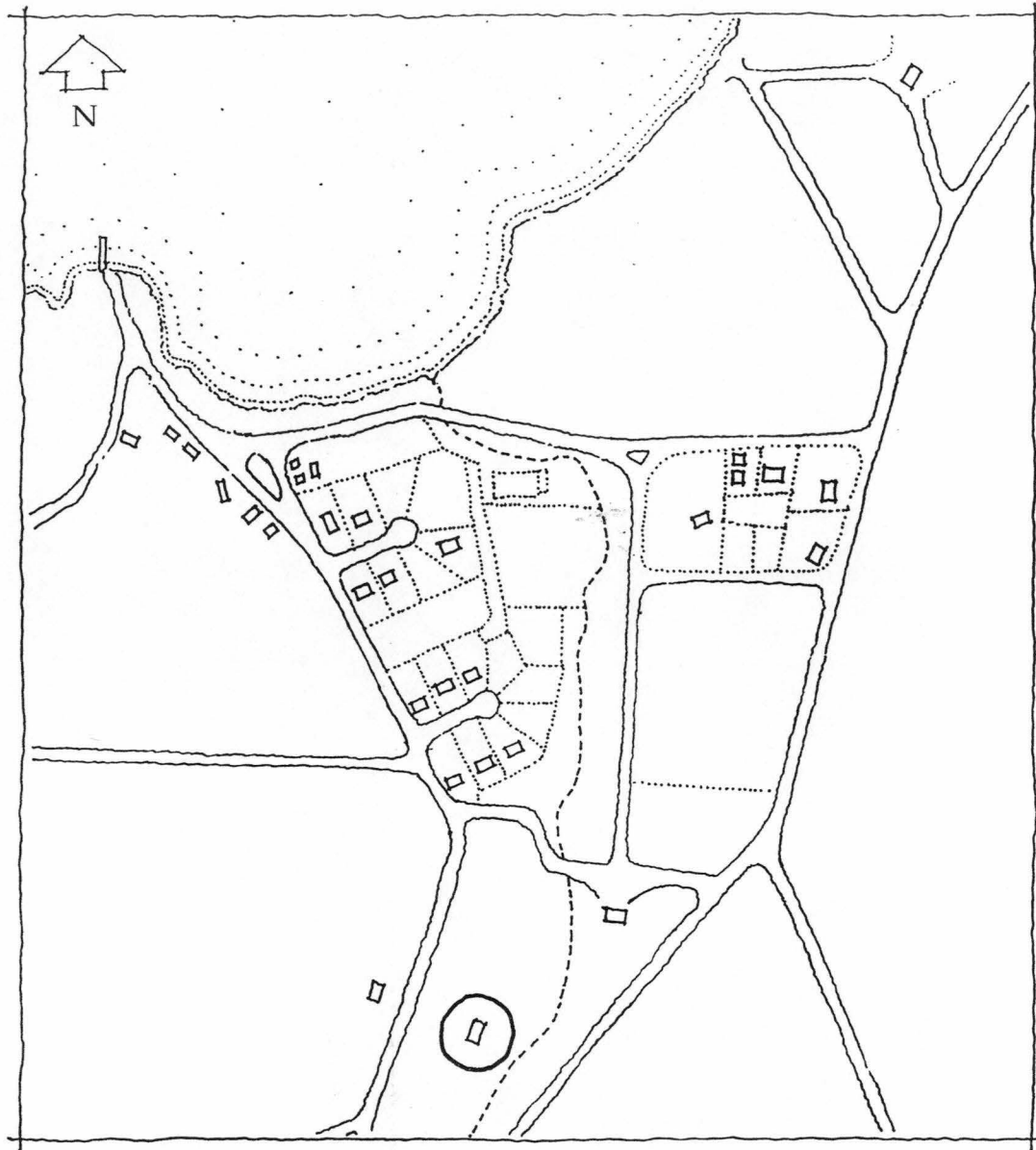
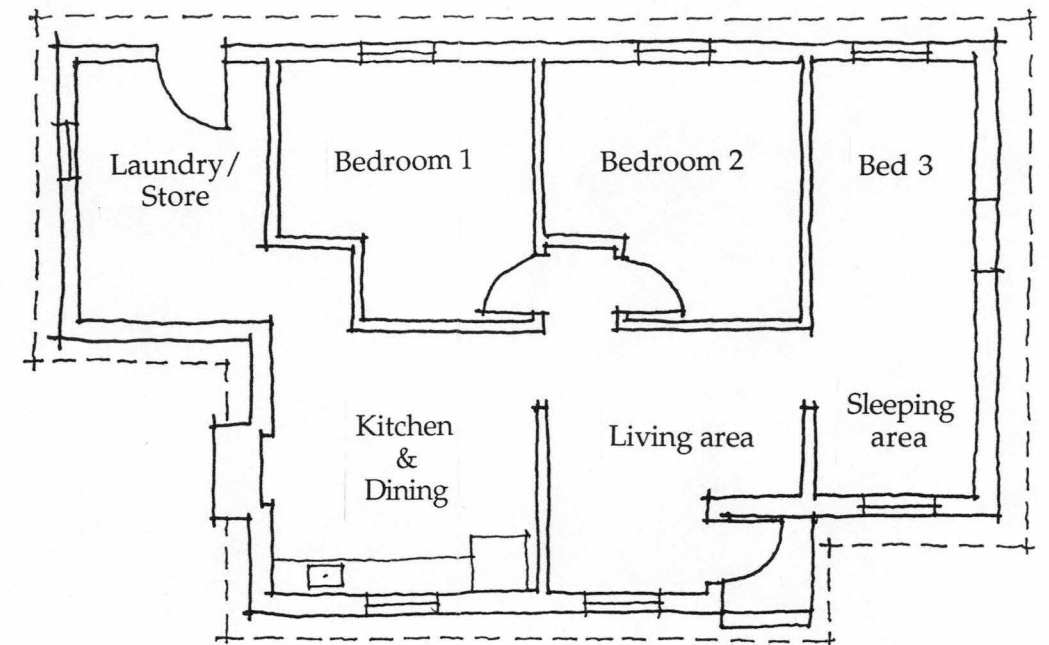


Figure 74.

Location Plan (scale 1: 3,000)

Dwelling type:	Three bedroom owner-built house.
Current Status:	3 person occupancy.
Date of construction:	1959.
Construction:	Timber stud frame construction.
Cladding -	External: Fibre cement sheet walls and corrugated steel roof sheeting.
	Internal: Timber framed Masonite clad walls with painted surfaces.

All measurements in millimetres
source: C. Zidak, 1995)

**Plan** (scale 1: 100)**Elevation** (not to scale)

Appendix D Questionnaires

The purpose of these questionnaires was to gain data concerning the lifestyles of the Aboriginal people and the role of the dwelling in their daily life. The questionnaires used as part of the collection of data consisted of 'check list and inventory' and 'ratings' type. The 'check list and inventory' questionnaire were used to provide specific information concerning the dwelling. The 'ratings' questionnaire was used to gain data about the Aboriginal residents' judgment of their satisfaction with particular aspects of the dwelling they occupied expressed as a numerical value.

Questionnaire 1 - Dwelling Characteristics

A - Dwelling Type

Is the house that you occupy:

Owner-built house ☐
Government provided house ☐ Other: _____

B - Owner-Built House

Please write down when your house was built:

18__ 19__ not known ☐

Who designed your house:

Family member ☐ Architect ☐ Builder ☐
Other: _____

Who built your house:

Family members ☐ Builder ☐ Other: _____

Household Size

How many people currently live in your house:

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐
5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐
9 ☐ 10 ☐ Other: _____

How many people under the age of 12 years or under live in your house:

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐
5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐
9 ☐ 10 ☐ Other: _____

How many people between the ages of 12 and 20 years live in your house:

1	<input type="text"/>	2	<input type="text"/>	3	<input type="text"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
5	<input type="text"/>	6	<input type="text"/>	7	<input type="text"/>	8	<input type="text"/>
9	<input type="text"/>	10	<input type="text"/>	Other: _____			

How many people between the ages of 20 and 60 years live in your house:

1	<input type="text"/>	2	<input type="text"/>	3	<input type="text"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
5	<input type="text"/>	6	<input type="text"/>	7	<input type="text"/>	8	<input type="text"/>
9	<input type="text"/>	10	<input type="text"/>	Other: _____			

How many visitors are there currently living in your house:

1	<input type="text"/>	2	<input type="text"/>	3	<input type="text"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
5	<input type="text"/>	6	<input type="text"/>	7	<input type="text"/>	8	<input type="text"/>
9	<input type="text"/>	10	<input type="text"/>	Other: _____			

Where do the visitors sleep:

living room	<input type="text"/>	kitchen	<input type="text"/>	dining area	<input type="text"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="text"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="text"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="text"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="text"/>	bathroom	<input type="text"/>	laundry	<input type="text"/>
Other: _____					

Heating

What type of heating do you use in your house:

wood heater	<input type="text"/>	gas heater	<input type="text"/>	electric heater	<input type="text"/>
open fire	<input type="text"/>	heat pump	<input type="text"/>	off peak	<input type="text"/>
passive solar	<input type="text"/>	none	<input type="text"/>		
Other: _____					

Where is the heater located:

living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	dining area	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other: _____

Approximately how long does it take to heat the room in which the heater is located:

5 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	10 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	15 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
20 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	25 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	30 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
35 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	40 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	45 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
50 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	55 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	60 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>

If longer please write down the time: _____

Is your house easy to heat in winter:

yes ☐ no ☐ adequate ☐

Do you use you heater during the summer months:

yes ☐ no ☐ sometimes ☐

What is the coldest room or rooms of your house during winter:

living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	dining area	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	toilet	<input type="checkbox"/>
laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Other: _____

What is the warmest room or rooms of your house during winter:

living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	dining area	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	toilet	<input type="checkbox"/>
laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other: _____			

What is the coolest room or rooms of your house during summer:

living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	dining area	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	toilet	<input type="checkbox"/>
laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other: _____			

What is the hottest room or rooms of your house during summer:

living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	dining area	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	toilet	<input type="checkbox"/>
laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other: _____			

Bedrooms

How many bedrooms are there in your house:

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: _____							

How many people share bedroom 1:

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: _____							

How many people share bedroom 2:

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ Not applicable ☐

Other: _____

How many people share bedroom 3:

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ Not applicable ☐

Other: _____

How many people share bedroom 4:

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ Not applicable ☐

Other: _____

How many bedrooms have built in cupboards:

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

Other: _____

Which bedrooms have built in cupboards:

bedroom 1 ☐ bedroom 2 ☐ bedroom 3 ☐
bedroom 4 ☐

Kitchen

Does your house have a kitchen area:

yes ☐ no ☐

Does the kitchen have a sink:

yes ☐ no ☐

Does the kitchen basin work adequately:

yes ☐ no ☐
 gets blocked at plug hole ☐
 pipes get blocked ☐
 leaking pipes ☐

Does your kitchen have cold running water:

yes ☐ no ☐
 yes, but not working properly ☐

Does your kitchen have hot running water:

yes ☐ no ☐
 yes, but not working properly ☐

If your answer is **no** state how

you heat the water: _____

Do you eat meals in the kitchen area:

yes ☐ no ☐ sometimes ☐

What meals do you eat in the kitchen area:

breakfast ☐ lunch ☐ dinner ☐
 snacks ☐

Other: _____

Indicate the type and number of furniture you have in the kitchen area:

4 seat table ☐ 5 seat table ☐ 6 seat table ☐

Other: _____

1 chair ☐ 2 chairs ☐ 3 chairs ☐

4 chairs ☐ 5 chairs ☐ 6 chairs ☐

Other: _____

bench ☐ oven ☐

freezer ☐ refrigerator/freezer ☐

stove/oven combined ☐

free standing cupboards ☐

built in cupboards ☐

Other: _____

Is the kitchen area combined with the dining room:

yes ☐ no ☐

Are the kitchen area and dining room separated:

yes ☐ no ☐

What separates the kitchen and dining areas:

wall (door opens into it) ☐ partition ☐

bench ☐ table ☐

What activities take place in the kitchen:

Dining Area

Indicate the type and number of furniture you have in the dining area:

4 seat table ☐ 5 seat table ☐ 6 seat table ☐

Other: _____

1 chair ☐ 2 chairs ☐ 3 chairs ☐

4 chairs ☐ 5 chairs ☐ 6 chairs ☐

Other: _____

bench ☐ oven ☐

freezer ☐

Other: _____

What activities take place in the kitchen:

Living Room

Indicate the type and number of furniture you have in the dining area:

2 seat couch x1 ☐ 2 seat couch x2 ☐ 3 seat couch x1 ☐

4 seat couch x1 ☐ Other: _____

1 seat couch x1 ☐ 1 seat couch x3 ☐ 1 seat couch x4 ☐

1 chair ☐ 2 chairs ☐ 3 chairs ☐

4 chairs ☐ 5 chairs ☐ 6 chairs ☐

Other: _____

What activities take place in the Living area:

Toilet

Is the toilet away from the house:

yes ☐ no ☐

Is the toilet:

flush ☐ septic ☐ dry ☐ pump out ☐
night soil ☐

Is the toilet inside the house:

yes ☐ no ☐

Is the toilet and bathroom combined:

yes ☐ no ☐

Does the toilet work adequately:

yes ☐ no ☐ gets blocked ☐
leaks ☐ cistern broken ☐

Utility area

Does your house have a laundry area:

yes ☐ no ☐

Is the laundry area big enough for your use:

yes ☐ no ☐

Does your household have a clothes dryer:

yes ☐ no ☐

Does the laundry have a tub basin:

yes ☐ no ☐

Does the laundry basin work adequately:

yes ☐ no ☐
 gets blocked at plug hole ☐
 pipes get blocked ☐
 leaking pipes ☐

Does your laundry have cold running water:

yes ☐ no ☐
 yes, but not working properly ☐

Does your laundry have hot running water:

yes ☐ no ☐
 yes, but not working properly ☐

Where is the clothes dryer located:

living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	dining area	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	bedroom 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
bedroom 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other: _____

Does your household have a washing machine:

yes ☐ no ☐

Where is the washing machine located:

living room ☐ kitchen ☐ dining area ☐
bedroom 1 ☐ bedroom 2 ☐ bedroom 3 ☐
bedroom 4 ☐ bathroom ☐ laundry ☐

Other: _____

Is there any storage area provided in the laundry area:

shelves ☐ benches ☐ built in cupboard ☐

Other: _____

In bad weather how do you dry washing:

use clothes dryer ☐ hang near heater ☐

Other: _____

Questionnaire 2 - Occupant Satisfaction of Dwelling

Please complete the following. For each item, respond as follows:

- . If you strongly agree with the statement, place a tick above the number (5).
- . If you agree with the statement, place a tick above the number (4).
- . If you are uncertain whether you agree or disagree, place a tick above the number (3).
- . you disagree with the statement, place a tick above the number (2).
- . you strongly disagree with the statement, place a tick above the number (1).

For example;

The bedrooms should have more storage space.

Agree : ☒ 5 ☐ 4 ☐ 3 ☐ 2 ☐ 1 Strongly disagree

General

1. The roof of the house leaks during rainy periods.

Agree : ☐ 5 ☐ 4 ☐ 3 ☐ 2 ☐ 1 Strongly disagree

2. The house has problems with mould.

Agree : ☐ 5 ☐ 4 ☐ 3 ☐ 2 ☐ 1 Strongly disagree

3. The house is difficult to clean.

Agree : ☐ 5 ☐ 4 ☐ 3 ☐ 2 ☐ 1 Strongly disagree

4. There is a problem with flies entering the house.

Agree : ☐ 5 ☐ 4 ☐ 3 ☐ 2 ☐ 1 Strongly disagree

Household Size

1. There are too many people living in the house.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
2. The house is not big enough for the number of people living there.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
3. Visitors cause overcrowding.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
-

Heating

1. The house is too cold in winter.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
2. The house is too warm during summer.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
3. It takes too long to heat the house in winter.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
4. Heating the house is expensive.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1

Bedrooms

1. There are not enough bedrooms.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
2. There is not enough storage space provided in the bedrooms.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
3. The bedrooms are too cold during winter.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
4. The bedrooms are too hot during summer.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
5. Too many people have to share bedrooms.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
6. There is not enough natural lighting in the bedrooms.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
7. The bedrooms are too hot in the afternoon during the summer months.
Agree : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1

Kitchen

1. The kitchen area is too small.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree

5 4 3 2 1
2. The kitchen area is too big.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree

5 4 3 2 1
3. The kitchen area does not receive enough natural light.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree

5 4 3 2 1
4. The kitchen does not receive sunlight in the mornings

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree

5 4 3 2 1
5. There needs to be more bench space.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree

5 4 3 2 1
6. The kitchen and dining area need to be combined.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree

5 4 3 2 1

Dining Area

1. The dining area is too small.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

2. The dining area is too big.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

3. The dining area does not receive enough natural light.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

4. The dining area is too cold in winter.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

5. The dining area is too hot during winter.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

6. The dining area is too hot in the afternoon during the summer months.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

Living Area

1. The living area is too small.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

2. The living area is too big.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

3. The living area does not receive enough natural light.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

4. The living area is too cold in winter.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

5. The living area is too hot during winter.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

6. The living area receives too much afternoon sun during the summer months.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

Bathroom

1. The bathroom is too small.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
2. The bathroom is too cold in winter
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
3. The bathroom receives too much afternoon sun during the summer months making it uncomfortably warm.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
4. The bathroom needs better ventilation.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
5. The bathroom needs bigger built in cupboards.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
6. The bathroom needs more shelf space.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1
7. There is not enough natural lighting in the bathroom.
Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1

Toilet

1. The toilet should be away from the house.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

2. The toilet should be separated from the bathroom.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

3. The toilet needs better ventilation.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

4. The toilet does not operate well.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

5. There is not enough natural lighting in the toilet.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

6. The toilet receives too much afternoon sun during the summer months.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

Utility Area

1. The laundry is not big enough.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

2. The laundry needs more natural light.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

3. The hot water takes too long to work.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

4. The laundry needs more shelf space.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

5. The laundry needs a built-in cupboard.

Agree : _ _ _ _ _ : Strongly disagree
 5 4 3 2 1

1 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC)

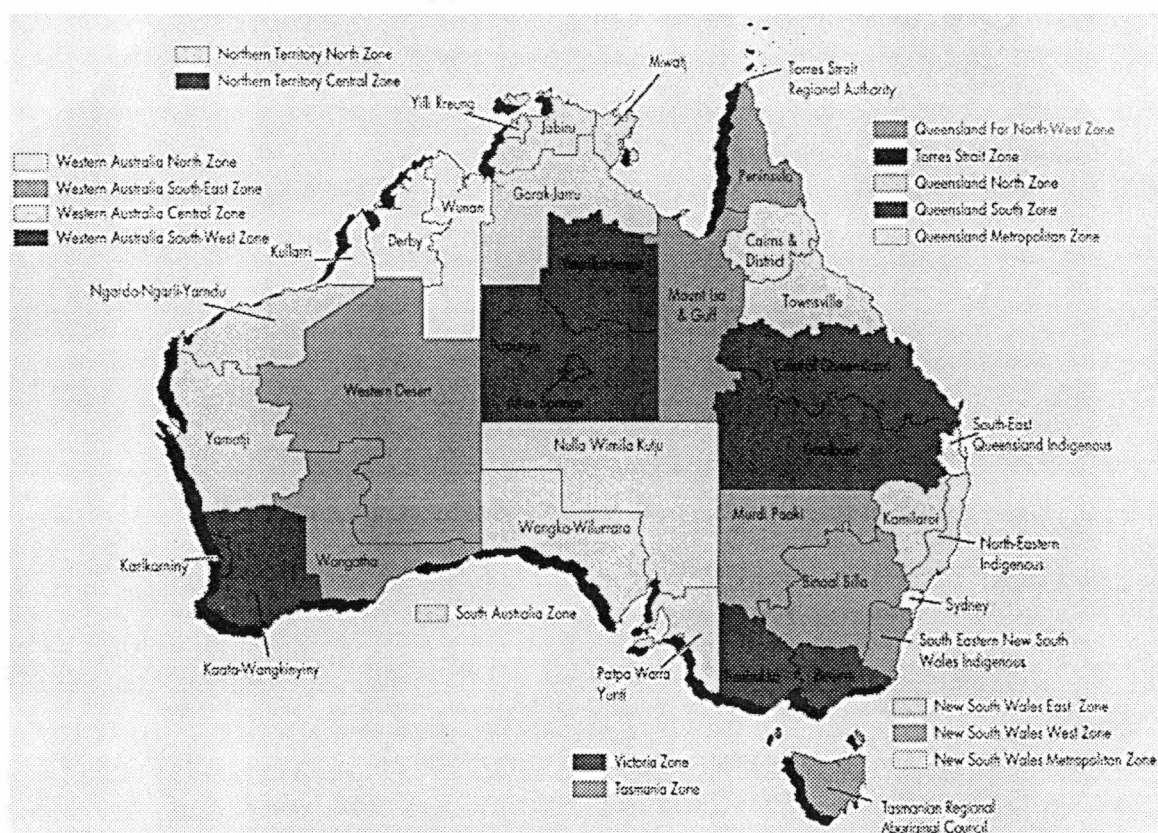
ATSIC is a decentralised organisation, combining representative, policy-making and administrative elements. It is now the main Commonwealth agency operating in the field of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs. It is the premier policy-making body in indigenous affairs and is responsible for administering many Commonwealth Government programs for indigenous Australians (ATSIC Annual Report 1993-1994:10). ATSIC is an organisation run by the elected representatives of Aborigine and Torres Strait Islander people. The representatives make decisions about the programs and policies which affect them, at both local and national level (Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council 1994:14).

1.1 Regional Councils

ATSIC regional councils are grouped into seventeen zones. They consult with their communities and draw up and carry out regional plans for improving the social, economic and cultural life of local Aboriginal people. The regional councils decide how funds for programs are to be spent within their region. They also advise the ATSIC board of commissioners, who allocate funding according to national priorities and budgets (Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council 1994:14).

1.2 Commissioners

Regional councillors within each of the seventeen council zones elect a commissioner to sit on the Central ATSIC board. Two commissioners are appointed by the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission. The main task of the commissioners is to develop national policies for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council 1994:33).



Map 18. ATSIC regional council areas and zones.

(source: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Annual Report 1993 - 94 1994:xxiii)

1.3 Administration

The Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of ATSIC heads a team of senior executive service officers. This is comprised of general managers, assistant general managers, state managers and the director of evaluation and audit. The administration of ATSIC is divided into three levels. These consist of central, state and regional offices. The central office is in Canberra. State offices are in every capital city and there are thirty regional offices throughout Australia (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 1992:147-148). The administration supports the activities of the regional councils and their commissioners. The central office directly funds certain national programs which are not included as part of regional council budgets. These include:

- Housing loans;
- Loans and grants for enterprises;
- Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP);
- Funding the activities of other portfolio organisations, such as Aboriginal Hostels Limited, and
- Funding for programs to be conducted by state and territory governments.

1.4 Central Office

Central Office is responsible for the main coordination and policy development functions within ATSIC. This office is divided into three divisions. The Economic, Social and Cultural divisions assist in the formulation of policies and oversee the implementation of specific programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The third division-Corporate Services, performs central administrative functions. This relates primarily to budget development and finance, staff development and training, information technology and ministerial and parliamentary liaison services (ATSIC Annual Report 1993-1994:12).

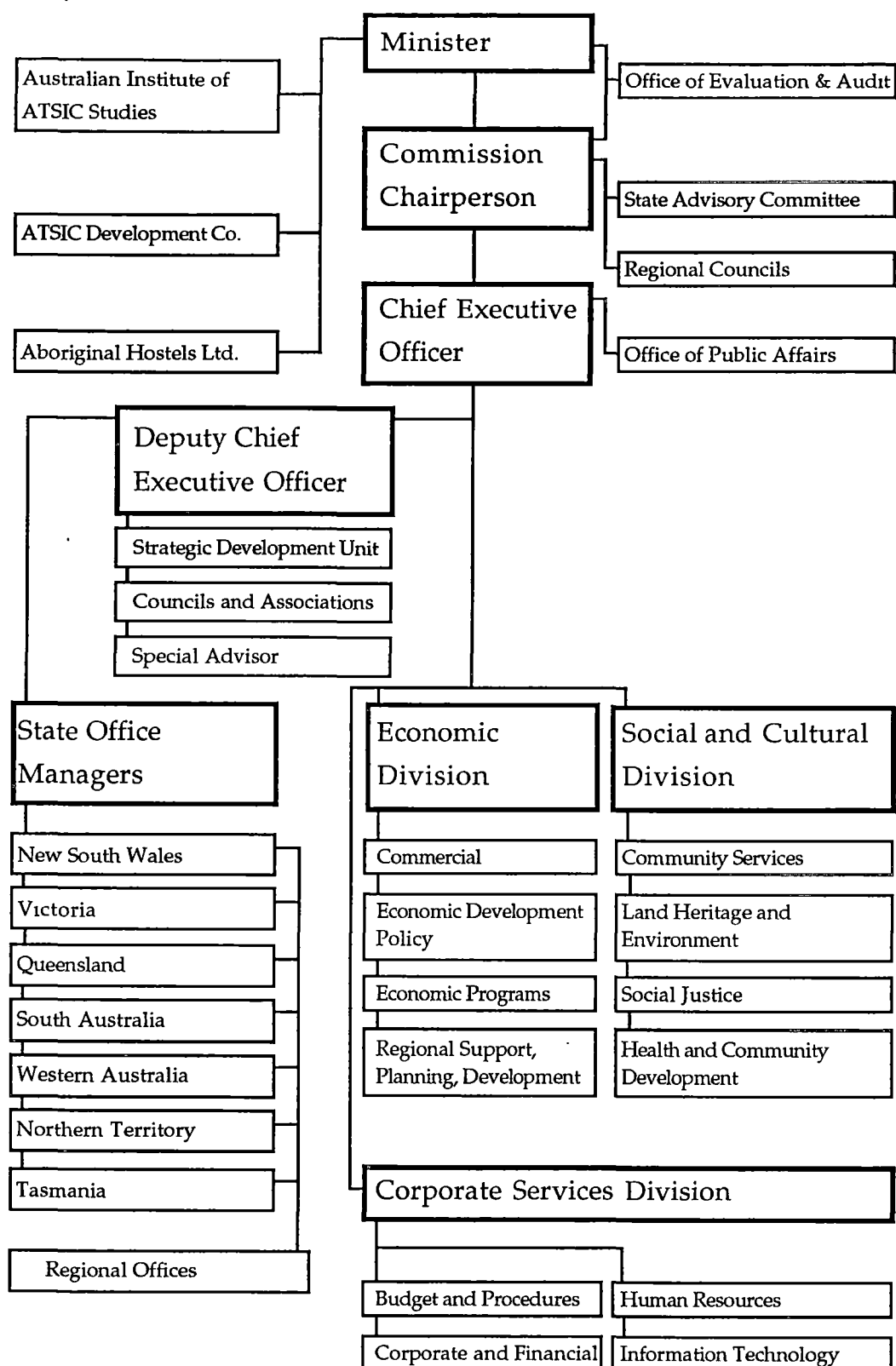


Figure 75. ATSIC Organisational Chart, 1994.

(source: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Annual Report 1993 - 94 1994:18)

1.5 State and Regional Offices

The role of state offices is to assist in coordinating programs between Commonwealth, State/Territory and local government departments. The main role of the thirty regional offices is to support regional councils and administer regional projects (ATSIC Operational Plan 1994-1995:15).

1.6 Obtaining Government Housing - Cape Barren Island

To obtain funds for housing, the Cape Barren Island Council applies to (ATSIC) Regional Office (Hobart) for a grant. The Council lodges a submission detailing their intended plans for the construction of community housing or other developments on the Island. The ATSIC office makes sure that the submission has followed formal guidelines for grant applications and that the cost of works can be covered by the Federal Government budget allocated for individual states. The submission then passes to the Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council (TRAC) for further consideration (Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council 1994:18).

TRAC is a regional council of elected Aboriginal people who are responsible for the administration of funding at a state level throughout Tasmania. The Council is responsible for deciding what initiatives need to be taken to improve the economic, social and cultural life of Aboriginal people in Tasmania (Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council 1994:11).

TRAC's particular role is to decide how the commissions funds will be allocated to Aboriginal organisations on the basis of TRAC's Regional Community strategies. Some of the councils goals include:

- Ensuring the protection of Aboriginal heritage;
- Increasing the standard of living and opportunities for employment for Aboriginal people;
- Strengthening the community's sense of Aboriginality, and
- Being at all times impartial and fair in decision-making so that the needs of the community are addressed (Tasmanian Regional Aboriginal Council 1994:17).

Once TRAC has approved the submission, it then notifies the ATSIC Regional Office at Hobart of funding availability to the Cape Barren Island Council. The ATSIC office then notifies the Cape Barren Island Council of its successful application.

Once the grant is obtained by the Council, it then has the choice of a number of housing designs supplied by the Hobart Housing Commission Board or can tender to private builders. Once the choice has been made, then the project commences with the transport of workers, materials and equipment to the Island.

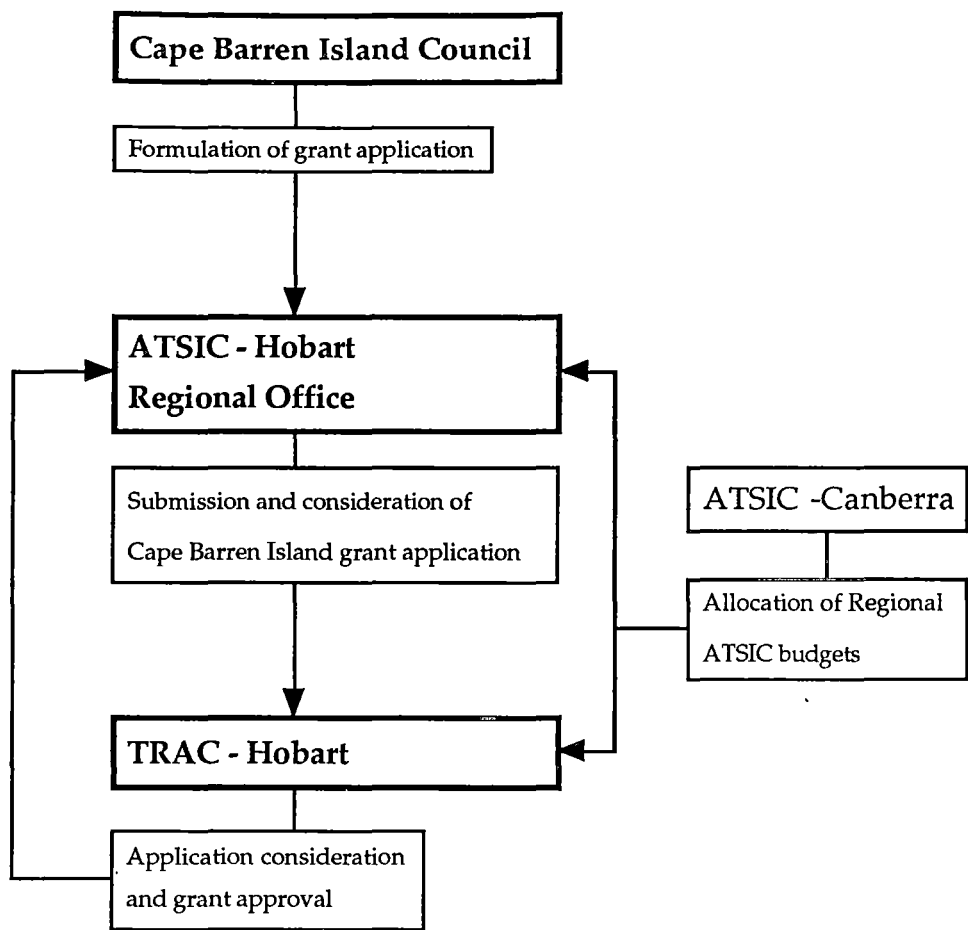


Figure 76. Cape Barren Island Council Application Process.

(source: Patsy Cameron - Deputy Head, Riawunna - Centre for Aboriginal Education, University of Tasmania, Launceston, 1995)

Appendix F

Definition of Terms

Camp	A place where Aboriginal people establish temporary lodging composed of shelters or huts.
Dwelling	See 'House'
Home	Aboriginal tribal lands or the immediate family group
House	A European, family-style building designed and intended to be occupied by family groups of four or five members over many years
Household	Those occupying a house
Shelter	A general term for a structure affording protection from the sun, wind or rain
Windbreak	A very temporary structure providing protection from prevailing winds

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